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EDITORIAL ARTICLE CRITICIZES PCI POSITIONS

AU191817 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Feb 82 p 5

[Editorial article: "Erroneous Analysis -- Incorrect Conclusions"]

[Text] A plenum of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] Central Committee was recently held at which problems of vital importance concerning our contemporary era were discussed. The discussion dealt with war and peace; with the role of the Soviet Union, of real socialism in the struggle for peace; with disarmament and social progress, and with the paths toward socialist development in capitalist countries, as well as other subjects.

The PCI leadership chose the events in Poland as a reason for discussing these important questions. Based on its analysis of these events, the PCI leadership reached global assessments and conclusions which, as to their character, are directly linked not only to PCI activities, but also to the activities of communist parties in the socialist countries, as well as, of course, to the activities of all other communist and workers parties. We are talking, in particular, about the fact that the PCI has drawn conclusions likely to reject the existence of real socialism and likely to deny the fact that a developed socialist society is being built in a number of socialist countries. The PCI leadership asserts that real socialism has allegedly "exhausted" its momentum and has stopped being a source of inspiration and an example worthy of imitation, and that in the future the struggle in the developed West European countries will give "the main impetus toward socialism." The PCI also asserts that the process of "reorganization" and "reform" in the "countries of the East" should be supported and encouraged in order to guarantee the success of this struggle, and that in this connection it is even more necessary to adopt a "new" or "a third path" toward socialism. The PCI also asserts that NATO and the Warsaw Pact bear equal responsibility in connection with the aggravation of the international atmosphere.

No one can dispute the right of the PCI leadership to work out its own orientations and valuations. Each communist party has the right to discuss and adopt decisions on all questions it considers necessary and useful for its own struggle. Nevertheless, at the very beginning of our commentary, we must unmistakably and definitely declare as follows: the analysis of the Italian comrades in an erroneous one, and the evaluations and orientations made on the basis of such analysis are deeply wrong and historically incorrect.

The first question on which the Bulgarian communists can never agree with the PCI leadership is the negation of the existence of real socialism in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the other socialist countries.

The PCI leadership has gone too far in its global negation of real socialism, of socialist society which has been built for several decades in the Soviet Union, as well as in the other socialist countries. There is no question of criticism of one or the other aspects of our practical reality; this is nothing but a global negation of historical experience in building socialism accumulated in our countries, and a negation of the socialist character of our society.

Historical practical experience has already given an evaluation on this issue. However, we are confronted with an interpretation according to which there are no socialist countries, properly speaking, in contemporary history, according to which no real socialist society in fact exists. Roughly speaking, if we follow the logic of the aforementioned analysis, there will be no socialist society as long as the "Italian model" of socialism has not been implemented. This is an evaluation according to which real socialism is being declared neither more nor less than ... exhausted.

It is obvious that such a statement cannot be passed over in silence and remain without reply. This is not only a case of discord over the truth about real socialism. Truth, in the long run, is stronger than anything else and will survive if it is an objective truth. It will outlive those who are trying to conceal and distort it.

There is a question of a stand, in this case, which may involve extremely grave and negative results for the PCI as well as for the consolidation of the progressive forces, as a whole, in our complicated contemporary situation, for the international communist and workers movement, as well as for the development of the contemporary revolutionary process as a whole.

The historical truth is that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of socialist revolutions in the other countries and of the construction of a real socialist society are the greatest achievements of the contemporary revolutionary process and the basic factors for its further development throughout the world as a whole and in each individual country in particular.

The historical truth is that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution has opened the path to the real transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism.

The Soviet Union played a decisive role in the defeat of fascism during World War II. It rescued mankind from Hitlerite barbarism, and created prerequisites for a victory of socialism in other countries.

Real socialism, as it exists, has liberated hundreds of millions of people from exploitation, from social oppression and from starvation and ignorance. It has created a new society of free workers enjoying equal rights. It has established a new life and provided work and confidence in the future for all. It has given a tremendous impetus to economic life, science and culture.

Real socialism, as it exists, is implementing a basically new type of democracy, a socialist democracy, which not only proclaims but also really guarantees human rights, which creates prerequisites for a most active, mass participation of working people in various forms and degrees of social administration.

The existence of such real socialism, as it exists, has basically changed the balance of forces in the world. Real socialism has become a basic factor of worldwide development. It has contributed, to a decisive extent, to a thorough breakthrough in the imperialist "cold war" policy, to the disintegration of the colonial system and to the removal of the nightmare of a thermonuclear world war.

Real socialism, as it exists, has given an opportunity to peoples in many developing countries to avoid the stage of capitalist development and to proceed along the path of a socialist orientation. As to the peoples of certain capitalist countries, including Italy, it has given them the opportunity of accomplishing the transition to socialism under different, much more favorable circumstances.

These arguments have been tested and confirmed by history and are therefore indisputable. This truth about real socialism cannot be denied by anyone. Even our enemies are forced to take this truth into consideration, as a matter of fact.

It is by no means difficult to imagine what the contemporary world would look life if the sinister theses of the Italian comrades about the "exhaustion" of the revolutionary potential of real socialism were true. The balance of forces would drastically change to the advantage of imperialism. The contemporary worldwide revolutionary process, including development in the capitalist countries, would be in an extremely difficult historical situation.

The evaluation of the PCI leadership about real socialism, which is liquidationist in its essence, shows a profound lack of understanding for the role played by the USSR and the other socialist countries in our contemporary world. This evaluation also demonstrates a regress of the PCI from its previous evaluations on this question, even from the stand adopted at the last, 15th congress of this party.

The report and the other materials of the plenum speak of a lack of knowledge and of an unsystematic analysis of reality as it exists in the countries of real socialism. The total dialectics and historical dynamics of the construction of real socialist society, of its laws and their of specific implementation, of the total problems of socialist construction -- in the economic, social, and political spheres, the mechanisms, the specific aspects of the development of socialism in countries with different socioeconomic levels, the stages of this development and so forth -- all these things have not been understood.

Let us take the following example: As we see from the documents adopted at the plenum, the total variety of problems and conditions of the development of the worldwide socialist system are reduced, in the long run, to a so-called "Soviet model." The truth, however, and this truth is universally known, is that the question of "models" has been clarified long ago, from a theoretical as well as a practical point of view. There are no "models" of socialism. There are common laws, which act as an objective necessity everywhere, and there are also specific manifestations of these laws under specific and definite circumstances in individual countries, at different periods, etc. There is the great Soviet historical experience and there is the experience of the other socialist countries, but no one is trying to impose this experience on others. Nevertheless, this experience is studied and it is creatively applied because, as Karl Marx already taught us, it is impossible to build a socialist society without this experience and no progressive social development of the peoples whatsoever is possible without this experience.

We truly cannot understand the logic that makes the PCI leaders reach such deeply erroneous evaluations of real socialism. They can only be the result of an analysis which admits, at least, a great methodological and a great political mistake. There is a methodological error because the PCI leadership does not take into consideration the fact that the construction of real socialism is a prolonged, complicated, difficult and gradual process of historical dimensions, a process which can be revealed and evaluated only along the path of a dialectical and not along the path of a straight, lineal analysis. The political error is due to the fact that similar evaluations can actually inflict a blow against socialism in a very complicated historical situation. Such an evaluation is likely to introduce confusion in the revolutionary and democratic forces. It may exert a negative effect upon the solidarity and unity of victorious socialism, the communist and workers movement in the most advanced capitalist countries and the movement of oppressed and recently liberated peoples.

The historical experience of the workers and communist movement, the great example of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical and political activities of such remarkable leaders as G. Dimitrov and P. Togliatti teach us that there are at least two determining conditions for a correct evaluation and for correct conclusions: namely, a thorough knowledge of reality, as it exists, and an analysis of this reality from a Marxist-Leninist point of view.

Our main objection to the documents of the recent PCI Central Committee plenum precisely consists of the fact that these documents draw global conclusions about real socialism without being deeply and specifically acquainted with the reality of real socialism, and without engaging in the specific-historical Marxist-Leninist analysis of this reality, which is obligatory for drawing such conclusions -- hence, the errors and incorrect approach to such evaluations and conclusions. It might perhaps be appropriate in this respect to recall that as early as in his life time, Togliatti used to warn about the danger represented for each party by "self-important opinions likely to induce us to think that we are the center of the universe and to believe that we are called upon to subject the rest of the movement to our superficial criticism, without making any effort to become better and more thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of their development." (Selected Articles and Speeches, 1965, Volume II, page 661)

We cannot fail to note that the Italian comrades, particularly in recent years, have shown less interest in a permanent, systematic and thorough study of the experience, state and problems of socialist construction. This observation is confirmed by the state of the scope and intensity of their relations with the brother parties from the countries where real socialism exists. Insufficient attention is devoted to these problems in their own press and in other forms of their theoretical and ideological life.

The documents adopted at the plenum and the discussion, published in the daily L'UNITA in particular, strongly distinguish themselves by an insufficiently thorough dialectic understanding, or by the unwillingness to take into consideration the capacity of development and the very development of socialism as a social system. Real socialist society, as it has been built in the USSR, as it has been victorious and is being built in the other socialist countries, is not an immobile or stagnating state of affairs. It is a development in the process of constant change and transformation. It develops according to the laws of its own dialectics, along the path of a specific, historical perfection, along the path of overcoming contradictions of one kind, but meeting new ones. It is involved in solving certain problems, but facing new ones, etc. This is a constant process in motion, a struggle which follows consistent stages in the development of socialist society advancing toward the implementation of the principles, goals and ideals of socialism.

We are aware of the fact that real socialism is facing its own difficulties and problems, that it has not achieved a full implementation of the ideal which the communists, building socialism, are aspiring to. The reasons for these difficulties are numerous, multifarious and complicated. Their analysis is a task full of responsibility. We should never forget that real socialism is not only being built gradually, but that it is facing a real world and specific, historical circumstances, specific domestic and foreign policy conditions. However, we are also aware of the fact that real socialism is not and will never be anything other than an unrelenting struggle for the socio-historical implementation of socialism both as a scientific theory and as a social ideal. Despite the existing difficulties which we encounter along our path, the workers class and the people's masses in the countries where real socialism exists, headed by the communist parties -- their political vanguard -- will by all means achieve their communist ideal.

The second question, which provokes our serious objection, is the Italian party leadership's evaluation of events in Poland. We can understand the concern of our Italian comrades about the situation in that country, but we can neither accept their conclusions about the character and development of the crisis in the Polish People's Republic, nor their recommendations on how to resolve this crisis.

As is known, the Polish leadership has already made serious evaluations of the reasons, development and character of the process of crisis in their country, as well as on the solution of the crisis. The first fact that we would like to point out is that it is inadmissible for a communist party to ignore these evaluations in analyzing Polish events.

The BCP has unmistakabley expressed its approach to events in the Polish People's Republic and toward the measures adopted by the Polish leadership in order to lead the country out of the difficulties of the past. Serious shortcomings have been allowed to occur and deviations from the Marxist-Leninist principles of building socialism have been committed, which have resulted in certain distortions in the development of Polish society, and which were actively taken advantage of by the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces within the country and abroad. Certain problems also exist which should be more deeply analyzed and more correctly resolved. The analysis of the reasons for the crisis certainly represents a great and very responsible task for the PZPR, and for the other fraternal parties as well. However, the question is not exhausted by this task alone. Under the circumstances of the situation existing in the country, the PZPR and the working people in the Polish People's Republic must above all solve the question of defending socialism on Polish territory, of insuring a further development of the country on the basis of the path of socialism.

The analysis of the situation in Poland and of the development of the processes in that country by the end of last year, 1981, shows that to adopt exceptional measures was an inevitable, legitimate and necessary step. The alternative to the exceptional measures under the existing situation in that country was civil war. We cannot fail to stress in this connection that, as the Polish comrades unmistakably declared, martial law does not mean a return to the situation as it existed before August 1980.

The documents adopted at the PCI Central Committee plenum not only fully neglect the assessments of the Polish party and state leadership, but also adopt a patronizing attitude which is incompatible with the principles of equal rights and mutual respect.

The Italian comrades, who are extremely sensitive not only as regards any kind of interference or even criticism in their regard, consider it fully appropriate to interfere in the domestic affairs of Poland, to tell the PZPR leadership and the Polish people how and what kind of socialism they should build in their country; they even take the liberty to impose their own "model" of socialism upon them.

It is even more interesting that at the same time, the Italian comrades deny the rights of the socialist community countries to express their solidarity and support to the PZPR and the Polish people, to whom they are linked not only by proletarian solidarity but also by treaties of alliance. The Italian party leadership describes its own interference in Poland's domestic affairs as "actions of solidarity and support for the Polish people and nation," while it defines the solidarity of the socialist community countries as "pressure" and "interference."

The third question on which we cannot agree with the Italian comrades is their evaluation of the present international situation.

Proceeding from a justified concern about the aggravation of the international atmosphere, the Italian comrades make incorrect evaluations and draw erroneous conclusions on the actual reasons for the existing tension in the world, and on those who are responsible for this tension.

The assertion that the United States, the USSR, NATO and the Warsaw Pact bear equal responsibility for the aggravation of the international situation is incorrect, unfounded and in contradiction with existing facts.

A consistent class analysis of the present world situation cannot fail to reach the conclusion that the change in U.S. policy, and to a certain extent also in the policy of the other capitalist states, by the end of the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties is a class reaction to the consolidation of the positions of socialism, to the successes of the peoples' national liberation struggle, and to the expansion of the democratic and progressive forces' movement in the capitalist world. We cannot fail to differ between the class and political essence of the two trends in international relations, and we cannot adopt a position of standing "above the blocs," placing the Warsaw Pact and NATO on one and the same level.

The documents adopted at the PCI Central Committee plenum underestimate and even neglect the USSR's initiatives and contribution to detente and to the preservation of peace and security in Europe. They pass over in silence the efforts of the Soviet Government to resume the dialogue with the United States in Geneva on questions of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Instead of this, the documents of the plenum point out that the Geneva negotiations have become possible thanks to a "growing pressure" of all other European political forces, but not as a result of the Soviet Government's efforts and initiatives in this respect.

There is even more: Together with the United States, the Soviet Union is accused of having consistently failed to expand detente during the seventies, of having failed to "overcome the blocs," and it is stated that "instead of this, the United States and the Soviet Union together have signed agreements on settling their respective strategic potential" (SALT I and SALT II).

It is not superfluous to recall here that the initiative for a simultaneous disbanding of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact has been adopted by none other than the CPSU and the Soviet Union. and that this initiative continues to be valid. However, a disbanding of blocs cannot remain a onesided act of the Warsaw Pact. If these two blocs continue to exist, the only reason for it is the unwillingness of the United States and NATO to adopt a solution to this question.

It is by no means surprising, in this case, that from such nonclass positions Soviet foreign policy should be placed on the same level as the imperialist policy of the United States, and that even more far reaching conclusions are hence being adopted. Regardless of how strange it may sound, the revolutionary and democratic forces in Western Europe are being called upon to alienate themselves from the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Such a line can only lead to a split and to a weakening of progressive and democratic forces in the world.

We cannot fail to note in this connection, and we cannot fail to express our concern about the specific statement made in the documents of the plenum that the communist movement, as an independent movement, separated from the movements of the socialists, progressive and liberation forces, represents a stage of the past in its development. In accordance with this stand, the PCI Central Committee declared that from now on the PCI will develop its relations with the communist and socialist as well as social democratic and other parties "in the same manner." The question arises whether such a stand is not dangerous to the PCI itself, whether such an alienation from the communist party and drawing closer together with the socialist and social democratic parties does not represent a danger for the PCI? Regardless of the manner in which this attitude is explained, it represents a great question mark. Its application in the future will undoubtedly exert a strong effect upon the further development and activities of the PCI.

As to the BCP, we are and will continue to be in favor of the development of the unity of the international communist movement and in support of relations based on equal rights among individual parties. We will be in favor of a comradely communist dialogue in clarifying the complicated problems of our era.

Last but not least, let us mention another fact. The documents of the PCI Central Committee plenum, as numerous political observers in various countries have already remarked, represent a strong attack of the PCI leadership against the USSR and real socialism. With this attack, a new front has been opened against these forces. This front was opened by the PCI leadership at a moment when imperialism is engaging in a policy of overt confrontation and is starting a violent campaign against the USSR and the socialist countries along all lines -- in the political, diplomatic, economic and ideological sectors. This front has opened at a moment when not only our friends, but also other sober-minded politicians in the West are becoming increasingly aware of the danger represented by this policy. This is a moment when the coordinated and active joint measures of all communists, democrats and fighters for peace, detente and disarmament are becoming more than ever necessary.

We would like to stress in closing this article that, in expressing our disagreement with the analyses and evaluations of the last PCI Central Committee plenum on questions discussed in our commentary, we are expressing our readiness for a comradely dialogue, as a matter of principle, as well as for a further development and consolidation of the traditional relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity existing between the BCP and the PCI.

REAGAN FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY STRAINS CITED

AU191815 Sofia BTA in English 1510 GMT 19 Feb 82

["Reagan and Western Europe" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Feb (BTA) -- Today the RABOTNICHESKO DELO London correspondent writes that the U.S. policy of high interest rates and high dollar exchange will undermine the efforts of Western Europe to get out of the economic crisis and will strain still further the frail relations of the partners on both sides of the ocean. President Reagan has made it absolutely clear that he will unceremoniously turn his back to his allies and will take the road of high budget deficit, high military expenditure and a high dollar rate. These three "high goals" of Reagan's policy can bring about the collapse of the whole system.

A direct aftermath of the proclaiming of the U.S. budget was the dramatic increase of the dollar rate towards the West European currencies. The high interest rates of the U.S. banks have enticed the profiteers to look for dollars in order to deposit them is the USA. The artificial push of the dollar upwards had a fatal effect on the oil imports of Western Europe and on the overall economic activity. Such fluctuations occurred in the "currency snake" (the West European currency system) that there is a danger that it may break and cause a serious hard currency crisis, the correspondent writes.

NATO OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON U.S. WAR PLANS

AU191759 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 19 Feb 82

["Interview Nino Pasti" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Feb (BTA) -- NATO Reserve General Nino Pasti is of the opinion that the Soviet Union is forced to go on arming itself because of the armament of the United States. The strategy of the United States, he stresses in an interview for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, is aimed not at the prevention of a nuclear war but provides for the use of nuclear weapons in a true war, in a "limited" nuclear conflict. In order to wage a war, says Nino Pasti, the United States need an enormous superiority over the Soviet Union. The Soviet military doctrine is defensive and the defensive doctrine requires less weapons than the aggressive, says Nino Pasti.

Speaking about his new book which is due to be published at the end of February, he notes that it stresses the efforts of the Soviet Union at avoiding the Second World War and the attempts of the United States at stifling the Soviet Union after the end of the war. The second part of the book, he goes on, is based on official American documents proving the fact that the threat to peace comes from the United States. We, in the West, says Nino Pasti, are a target of NATO propaganda which distorts the truth and seeks to spread themes to split the unity and to weaken the efficiency of the anti-war movement. "We have to inform the public because its opinion is a powerful weapon in the efforts for the prevention of a war" stresses Mr Nino Pasti.

DZHUROV, OTHERS ATTEND SOVIET ARMY CELEBRATION

AU201935 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] A celebration marking the 64th anniversary of founding the Soviet army and navy was held at the Central Military House in Sofia tonight. Attending to celebration were Soviet specialists and their families; Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense; Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration at the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers of the national defense, generals and officers as well as Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, and Maj Gen Valeriy (Zagalov), Soviet Army, naval and air attache to Bulgaria.

PRAGUE TV COMMENTS ON REAGAN PRESS CONFERENCE

LD192220 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] President Reagan's press conference yesterday can only be compared to something out of a fairy-tale world. As in the story about the fisherman's daughter, Reagan yesterday at the same time did and did not give a press conference. He was explaining problems of U.S. policy but actually he explained nothing. He was promising to revive the economy and at the same time he did not say when that was going to take place.

Let us proceed in order. The press conference lasted only 45 minutes because President Reagan refused to answer 14 out of 24 questions from the journalists. The majority of unanswered questions were about Central America and the President was making excuses that national security reasons made him act that way. Yet in spite of all his caution and evasive answers, his speech showed that the United States is keeping a back door open for a possible military intervention in that part of the world. Reagan said that his administration does not intend to send troops to El Salvador yet, but in the spirit of the whole press conference, he immediately limited the validity of his statement only to the current period.

The President devoted a lot of time to U.S. economic problems. He again repeated the old well-known promises that the economy will be revived. When the journalists asked when that was going to take place, he made promises similar to those of a year ago. He said: I shall not be bound by a date. As has become customary he was blaming the previous administrations for the current crisis.

The President repeated his claims about the validity of the current economic policy even though only yesterday, the Belgian prime minister, Wilfried Martens, conveyed West Europe's protests by saying that the deepening decline of its economy is the result of Washington's inconsiderate policy, of the interest-rate policy which is preventing Western Europe from gaining the means to revive its economy.

All in all, Reagan gave and did not give a press conference as he actually said nothing that has not been known about U.S. policy for a long time.

SCHMIDT BOWS TO U.S. 'INSTRUCTIONS' ON USSR TIES

LD190922 Prague CTK in English 0812 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 19 Feb (CTK) -- "Those on the Rhine have again bowed their necks to Washington's will," RUDE PRAVO wrote today on Bonn's decision to suspend talks with the Soviet Union on a scientific-technical agreement and on shipping, to cancel visits by official representatives, and subject to trade and political restrictions according to Washington's wishes.

The daily recalled the words by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt that he "stands for strong moral pressure on the Soviet Union and Poland," and added: "This is the language of a representative of a country which applauds Israel's policy of annexation, which is not ashamed to revive in the United Nations, in the face of the whole world, political non-persons of the inhuman Pol Pot regime, which overlooks the bestiality of South African racists, which watches with indifference murders of innocent people in an allied country -- Turkey, which believes the Salvadoran junta's "longing for peace". Schmidt swore by morals only to avoid admitting his undignified change of views," the daily stressed. [quotation marks as received]

President Reagan is partly satisfied as Bonn has done what it was instructed to do and pledged further obedience, the daily said adding that West Germany is again finding "its place" determined for it by the United States.

BACKGROUND OF POLISH EVENTS FURTHER EXPLAINED

AU191228 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Feb 82 p 6

[Second part of article of Pavol Minarik: "Who Stood Behind the Counterrevolution in Poland; The Man in the Background"]

[Summary] On 14 August 1980 the developments in the Gdansk shipyards started a chain of events which then shook Poland for all of 16 months. Jerzy Borowczak declared a strike that day -- Lech Walesa, who was to have done this, had encountered "difficulties" in getting inside the shipyard and sneaked in late, through a hole in the fence. He had worked there for 10 years, but a year ago he had "had to leave, for organizing antistate provocations."

"As soon as Lech Walesa arrived on the spot, he took over the direction of the strike. He declared that the shipyard would stay occupied until the management fulfilled the strikers' demands." At first the strike committee's seven demands included wages increases and the reemployment of Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz. "On the first day of the talks between the shipyard management and the strike committee, Lech Walesa mentioned the need to set up 'free trade unions' only in passing. The enterprise management nevertheless refused to discuss this demand, arguing that it could not decide on matters outside its jurisdiction. In the next few days the number of unrealistic demands on the part of the strikers increased to 21," and the demand for wages increases was replaced by the wish to set up "free trade unions." At that time the Gdansk strikers did not use terms like "independent" or "autonomous." They did so only later, under the influence of Bogdan Borusewicz, who at the time was not directly participating in the negotiations and was scarcely known to the public.

He was well known to Walesa, Borowczak and Walentynowicz; together with them he used to plot secret plans. "He was their constant shadow, but not only he. A well organized political group had long been preparing, quite methodically, to start up its own operations. It had spread its network throughout the country."

Borusewicz was first mentioned after the strike ended by the FINANCIAL TIMES; the London paper quoted him as "disagreeing with the system called, in Poland, socialism." After this statement the bourgeois journalists accredited in Poland became most interested in him.

Borusewicz was co-founder of the illegal antistate organization called KOR; he was a member of its program and operations group, which established contact with Walesa, Plonska, Walentynowicz, Borowczak, Pradzynski and others. "Stubbornly, with the cynicism and hatred of an anticommunist, he manipulated dissatisfied persons," thus preparing the Gdansk shipyards for the heated events of summer 1980. Deplorably, "the helplessness of the party and state leadership of that time, which did not see, or did not want to see, what was happening on Poland's northern coast in the right light," helped Borusewicz considerably. He "worked devotedly and reliably in the service of the counterrevolution. During that period he directed the development of events in the Gdansk shipyard so as to make Lech Walesa chairman of the strike committee. True, apart from fulfilling his tasks, he also pursued his own interests in this way, and hoped to achieve even more in the future."

"It would not be correct to fail to mention that, exactly at that time, the security bodies of the Polish People's Republic were prosecuting certain members of KOR's operations group for open antistate activities. Some of them -- like Jacek Kuron, boss of this organization -- were imprisoned." But soon they were released and became even more active; aktivists were dispatched to the northern coast and "shortly after their arrival Lech Walesa came out with the primary condition to set up 'free trade unions.' This was a decision which, as he later said, he would never 'betray.'"

The KOR people, Walesa's advisers, decided that this demand superseded everything else; the strike continued, and other enterprises on the coast joined it.

On 15 August 1980 Gierek returned to Poland from his leave. "It cannot be said that he had not tried to enable the party and state bodies to master the situation on the northern coast. But soon it became obvious that the irresoluteness, rigidity and defensive attitude which were the common denominator of these efforts were a mistake which merely complicated the situation in the country." "(to be continued)"

SLOVAK-SOVIET PETROCHEMICAL COOPERATION EXPANDS

AU191300 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 11 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Eng Vladimir Koci of the Slovnaft plant by Ursula Kovacova: "Protocol Signed; Slovnaft's New Contacts With the Soviet Partner"]

[Summary] "Recently the Slovnaft plant was visited by a delegation of the Grozgiproneftekhim state institute for designing refineries and petrochemical plants in Groznyy." The visit led to new mutual contacts; we were told about them by Eng Vladimir Koci, employed in the preliminary project investment preparation:

The Slovnaft plant is planning to build a "deparaffining and deoiling unit with an output of 150,000 tons of raw material annually; the main product will be deparaffined oil with a low congealing point, and paraffins"; and "so-called soft paraffins for the timber and cellulose-paper industries." The deep-freeze technology needed for this has been worked out in the USSR; and thus, last August a Slovnaft delegation visited the institute in Groznyy. CSSR and USSR experts have now met in Bratislava for a "technical session on questions connected with the approval of ordering the project and of the technical conditions" needed. The Soviet delegation to the session was headed by Director S. Makaryev. After looking over the project site, the delegation received appropriate documentation for designing the project, the main engineer of which will be I. Kachlishvili. In the preliminary project preparations all pertinent questions had been discussed by workers of the technical section of the Slovnaft national enterprise and by representatives of the Chemoprojekt plant in Brno. The equipment for the unit, which will be called the Solvent paraffin 3 EPT 3 [rozpustidlova parafinka 3], will be delivered by the Soviet partner in Groznyy.

On the basis of the experts' talks, a contract for the elaboration of the blueprint will be signed in March 1982 between the Technoexport foreign trade enterprise and the .. Neftekhimeksport. The Soviet partner has promised to deliver the technical blueprint within 9 months of the signing of the contract. The unit is to be built in the period 1984-86, and to start operating in 1987.

PRAGUE TV INTERVIEWS SOVIET MILITARY OFFICIAL

LD201030 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Tonight before Soviet army and navy day we are visiting one of the units of the Central Group of Soviet Forces:

The units of the Central Group gave a parachute display on the occasion of Soviet army and navy day. In support of the operation, helicopter gunships fulfilled their tasks perfectly in spite of bad weather. We have always found at our visits to the Central Group that the exercise situations here always resemble real battle conditions as closely as possible.

[Begin recording] [Question in Russian fading into Czech translation] Comrade Colonel, [not further identified] how does the Central Group prepare for the great holiday of the Soviet army?"

[Answer in Russian fading into Czech translation] The 64th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet army is particularly significant for us.

We have also entered the year of the 65th anniversary of the USSR. Our slogan is to reliably protect the peaceful work of the Soviet people. These units are commanded by Major Cherkasov. This unit has an historical tradition of fighting in the Great Patriotic War and holds many awards. Today's tankers solve the tasks of combat training at a tank training ground and in classes as well as on shooting ranges. We can point to the combat mastery by many tankers.

Now the winter training period is ending: Days are being devoted wholly to exercises in which the tankers are trying to overstep the prescribed tactical norms.

The soldiers of the Soviet Central Group send their greetings on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet army and celebrate it with new successes in combat and political readiness, implementing the tasks set for the Armed Forces by the 26th CPSU Congress. [end recording]

The soldiers of our People's Army who are bound to the Central Group of Soviet Forces by close ties of friendship are sending their friends in arms their cordial greetings on the occasion of the holiday of Soviet Armed Forces.

INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION CHAIRMEN END SESSION

Declaration on Poland

AU191940 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "With Joint Effort for Peace, Security and Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Prague, 16 Feb (CTK) -- The consultative meeting of chairman of the national groups of the Interparliamentary Union [IPU] of socialist countries, which opened this Tuesday in Prague, is devoted to the exchange of experience acquired in directing the parliaments of socialist countries, and to the coordination of joint efforts for consolidating peace, security and international cooperation.

The participants in the consultative meeting adopted a declaration of the national groups of the IPU of socialist countries. The document states:

The representatives of parliamentary groups from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the DPRK, Cuba, Hungary, Mongolia, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union and Vietnam, who have convened in Prague for a regular consultative meeting of chairmen of the IPU national groups from socialist countries, resolutely condemn the actions that are being undertaken by the governments of a number of Western countries, with the United States at the head, against the Polish People's Republic.

Economic sanctions and discrimination, political extortion, open acts of psychological and propaganda aggression on the part of certain Western countries, and their attempts to foist the assessment of current events in Poland on international forums are inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Polish state and a direct violation of the articles of the UN Charter, as well as of the Helsinki Final Act. These actions are threatening security and peace in Europe and are complicating the Polish people's efforts to overcome the crisis and to normalize the situation in the country.

The proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland corresponds to the country's Constitution and was also confirmed by the supreme legislative body -- the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

The measure was evoked by the acute necessity to prevent a national tragedy, to protect the Polish citizens' vital interests, to successfully defend socialism against the growing counterrevolutionary danger and anarchy, to insure legality and public order in the country, and to revive the country's economy and the normal operation of the state and its bodies. All constitutional bodies of Poland's state power are working in harmony with their rights of authority. The state of emergency, and the restrictions connected with it, are of a temporary nature and are gradually being alleviated or lifted.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has confirmed the unchangeable nature of the principles of Polish foreign policy, which is contributing toward consolidating peace and security, mutual understanding and rapprochement of the peoples, and toward developing and consolidating friendly relations with all states.

The United States and its NATO allies are striving to use the events in the Polish People's Republic as another pretext for realizing its strategic aims, for unprecedentedly escalating feverish armament, and for changing Poland into a hotbed of tension in Europe. Above all, it is striving to weaken the world socialist community, to change the current correlation of forces in the world in its own favor, to aggravate the political situation on the European Continent and throughout the world yet further, and to eradicate the positive results of the policy of detente.

The participants in the meeting are in favor of immediately halting all hostile actions of the Western states, and above all the United States, against the Polish People's Republic.

The representatives of the IPU national groups from socialist countries appeal to the parliaments of the world, to all deputies and to the international public to raise their voice against the interference of the United States and certain other Western countries in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic, and against attempts to place obstacles on Poland's path out of the crisis; and not to permit the events in this country to be abused for strengthening the confrontation between the East and the West or for threatening detente and peaceful cooperation among states.

'Concluding Press Communique'

AU192125 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 82 p 1

[CTK report: "The Parliaments' Share in the Battle Against the Threat of a Nuclear War"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Feb (CTK) -- The 2-day consultative meeting of the chairmen of national groups of the Interparliamentary Union [IPU] from socialist states was concluded this Wednesday after adopting the concluding press communique. The document states:

The regular consultative meeting of the heads of national groups from the Bulgarian People's Republic, the CSSR, the DPRK, Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the Romanian Socialist Republic, the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held in Prague from 16 to 17 February 1982.

The participants in the meeting exchanged opinions on the results of the 68th IPU conference, held in September 1981 in Havana; assessed matters connected with preparations for the spring session of the IPU body in Lagos (in April 1982); and also assessed the question of further deepening cooperation among the socialist countries' delegations to the IPU bodies' session. They also exchanged information on the international contacts of IPU parliaments and national groups from socialist countries.

During the consultative meeting, the participants unanimously pointed out that at present, when the international situation has been aggravated through the fault of imperialist reactionary forces, it is imperative to exert maximum effort in the battle for maintaining peace, for limiting feverish armament -- above all nuclear armament -- and for continuing the policy of international detente.

In this connection they pointed out the significance of the second extraordinary UN General Assembly session in disarmament now under preparation.

The participants in the meeting expressed their firm conviction that the parliaments and deputies of all countries in the world can, and must, considerably contribute toward averting the threat of a nuclear war; this is the most important task of the present.

At the meeting, a declaration was adopted which condemned interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic on the part of the United States and certain other Western countries.

Full support was expressed for the herioc people of the Republic of Cuba in their just fight against the constant transgressions against their freedom and independence on the part of American imperialism.

The consultative meeting was held in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere, and its participants unanimously spoke in favor of further developing and deepening cooperation between the IPU national groups from the socialist countries.

Indra Received Cuban Delegates

LD191540 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, received Pedro (name indistinct], head of the delegation from the Cuban section of the Interparliamentary Union, in Prague today. In a friendly talk they discussed mainly questions concerning the future intensification of Czechoslovak-Cuban parliamentary contacts and cooperation.

FUEL, METAL, ENERGY CONSUMPTION MEASURES OUTLINED

LD220148 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Interview granted by Milan Rusnak, first deputy federal minister of fuels and power, to unidentified interviewer; date not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Rusnak, you will surely confirm that securing fuel and power ranks among the most (?urgent) tasks facing our national economy. How are you tackling this task in your branch of the economy and what is the current balance sheet regarding fuel and power in general?

[Answer] In the current period we are meeting roughly two-thirds of our fuel and power requirements from our own resources and one-third of our requirements from imports. In comparison with other industrially advanced countries, the dependence of our economy on the import of fuel and power is substantially lower than, for instance, France, Austria, the FRG and also Hungary. The requirement of primary power resources by the national economy and the population for the current year constitutes about 105 million tons of standard fuel; this is a very high figure.

Our miners are faced with the task of raising this year's output of coal and lignite to 124 million tons. The power plants under the Ministry of Fuels and Power are to produce almost 63 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. It is correct to say, when taking into account that one-third of our overall requirements of primary power resources must be met by imports from the Soviet Union, that the safeguarding of our domestic consumption requirement in this regard rests almost exclusively with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union exports to us natural gas, crude oil and bituminous coal under conditions that suit our national economy, free of fluctuations of the world capitalist market.

[Question] Can you be more specific? I mean in the situation when winter is still with us?

[Answer] The situation is still rather tense. This winter we were badly affected by the results of coal extraction, in particular in the North Bohemian brown coal mining area where the planned targets were not achieved due to long rains in the fall. The import of coal from the Polish People's Republic and electric current from the Socialist Republic of Romania failed to be realized in the planned amount. Consequently, at the beginning of this year the amount of stored coal in power stations was 520,000 tons less than planned. The exceptional duration of the frost this January caused a deficit of 580,000 tons of lignite in the North Bohemian lignite mining area, a general tension in fuel supply and consequently also in the production of the final product -- electric current. Therefore, operative measures had to be adopted. The limit of electric current supply to large-scale customers had to be cut by five percent, and the limit of supplies of heavy heating oils, natural gas and lignite had to be changed to the advantage of electric current production. The gas producing system, after necessary short-term cuts in the supply during the heavy frost, now supplies its customers continuously. Cuts were also adopted in the nonproduction sphere, in particular in public lighting. To overcome the current difficulties, we need self-sacrifices not only by miners, energy producing and transportation workers but also discipline in all places of work, and in the private consumption of all kinds of fuel and energy.

[Question] This is the current requirement. Where can alternatives be looked for in the years ahead, in the current 5-year period and the subsequent period?

[Answer] It will be necessary to continue to exploit intensively our own deposits of primary fuel resources. In the case of bituminous coal, we have to replace exhausted mines by starting to mine in increasingly worse mining and geological conditions and at greater depth. We will raise the output of brown coal through opencast mining. We will pay particular attention to the possibilities of intensifying geological surveying for crude oil and natural gas, thereby creating the possibility of raising their domestic output.

Despite all this effort, we will not be able to significantly increase the sources of our traditional fuels. The only realistic alternative of how to increase our energy resources is an extensive development of nuclear power.

[Question] Energy intensiveness in our economy is quite considerable. What kind of role will electricity continue to play here and what is being done to ensure its ample supplies? Where will we acquire further resources for the generation of electricity?

[Answer] Electricity as the most refined form of power has an irreplaceable role in the fuel and power balance sheet. The effort to significantly decrease consumption of liquid fuel will lead in particular to an increase in the electrification of railways, to the renewal and widening of the bus system in towns and to the introduction of battery-driven cars for various services and taxis. The increase of work productivity in industry, in agriculture or in households cannot be thought of without the introduction of mechanization, robotization and an increase in the number of electrical appliances.

We have almost completed the construction program of thermal power stations in Czechoslovakia with Melnik 3 and Prunerov 2. We have learned to produce electric energy in nuclear power stations. Along with construction workers and with machine-producing workers we are striving for the early implementation of construction programs of new nuclear power stations. We want the nuclear power stations to make an almost 40 percent contribution to the overall energy resources by 1990 and over 40 percent by the year 2000.

[Question] The Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power has also prepared a program for the reconstruction of some older condensing power stations for district heating. You must know what to do with the heat.

[Answer] The heat supply is one of the most important issues we are dealing with in our sphere. Approximately 40 percent of fuel and energy resources is used for heat production in our homeland. The way to savings is through centralized heat supplies. Wherever possible we are trying to build a thermal network supplied from a shared source. [Words indistinct] we are also negotiating with the USSR about the possible construction of nuclear boiler houses for heat supply.

[Question] It is a pity that many small hydroelectric plants are not in operation.

[Answer] It is true that with the construction of large-scale energy producing plants small hydroelectric power plants were unjustly overlooked. Today when we are seeking new sources of energy we want to utilize small hydroelectric power plants primarily as the most efficient renewable source of energy. The government therefore supports the reconstruction and new constructions of small hydroelectric power plants with advantageous credit and purchase conditions. The preliminary program on small hydroelectric plant utilization mentions about 500 million kilowatt hours which represents 30 percent of the current electric power production by large-scale hydroelectric power plants.

[Question] We have spoken about fuel-energy resources. This forms one side of the balance. I think that the other side, of equal importance, is consumption. Rationalization of consumption, that is, frugality regarding fuel and energy is an equally important task for all areas of our economy.

[Answer] That is correct. Energy consumption forms an inseparable part of the fuel-energy balance. We want to save over 15,000 tera-joules this year, in particular by cutting fuel consumption in the production of electric power and by cutting losses in the transit gas pipelines. The overall situation requires that relative saving should substantially overstep that which is set by the state target program for our whole economy. We expect that savings should be made in metallurgy, in the utilization of waste heat, in the introduction of performance electronics and similar other measures. We recommend that enterprises should pay substantially more attention to energy economy, to efficient organization of work, to evenness in operating equipment, to adherence to technological proceedings, to improving the servicing of energy-producing equipment, to conscientious maintenance, and to an improvement of distribution systems. Our control bodies discovered considerable reserves exist in these areas for saving energy. I would now like to mention energy economy in (?municipal housing). Overheating rooms by one degree, for example, increases heating expenses by six percent. Consumers should be made to pay for this. Unfortunately this attitude to energy economy is still not adopted which is perhaps due to considerable anonymity of causes of waste mainly in centralized networks of heat supply because of insufficient measurement methods by regulating bodies. We gradually eliminate this shortcoming.

Let me stress however that equilibrated fuel-energy balance does not only mean to care for sufficient energy resources, it also means maximum frugality in the use of energy; therefore, the problems of energy concern us all. Whether there will be a sufficient, well-justified supply of energy to workplaces and households depends on us all.

Metal, Power Reduction Measures

AU191944 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 18 Feb 82 p 3

[CTK report: "Innovation Reduces Metal and Power Consumption"]

[Excerpt] The long-term program of reconstructing Czechoslvak engineering is aimed at ensuring production growth, while emphatically reducing the consumption of ferrous metals and energy. The envisaged change of the production base provides the possibility of relatively saving more than 14 million tons of standard fuel by 1990 alone.

The main thing will be to cut down the share of machine tools by 13 percent in favor of molding machinery; on the other hand, the share of machines and equipment for manual assembling should increase from 1.5 to 11 percent, the share of machines for unconventional machining from 0.9 to 3 percent, and the share of automated and semiautomated machines from 11 to 50 percent. We also expect substantial changes in technology. This means that we will also be using modern group methods in machining and moulding, and new physical principles such as lasers or electronic rays and other highly productive processes throughout industry.

The realization of progressive production technologies will also depend on the expedient use of materials with the required resistance features.

EDITORIAL SCORES PESSIMISTIC VIEWS ON ECONOMY

AU192037 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Historical Optimism"]

[Excerpts] We are strong by virtue of our common goal, united will, and collective determination to tackle the present obstacles and difficulties, to overcome them, to gain a victory over ourselves and also to surmount the despondency and lack of confidence in our own strength that appear now and then. That is the main and most important thing.

We do not recall this idea that was voiced at the recent nationwide miners' aktiv in Ostrava because of its touch of pathos, but because of its positive impact on the sentiments and views of individiuals who have lost self-assurance, energy and vision, and have even enmeshed themselves in the cobweb of notions about some sort of "unfeasability" of our path in building developed socialism.

Are the present tasks beyond our strength, capabilities and potentials? And does our national economy go, so to speak, from bad to worse?

Let us recall Comarade Husak's New Year's address. He said that even though we had to deal with many problems and overcome many obstacles in the economy, "we succeeded in achieving many positive results. Even though we rightly point out weak spots and shortcomings, which we must face up to, the decisive thing is that our country's economic and political strength further increased." Even last year our economy maintained an upward trend of development, albeit we had the conditions and possibilities to achieve far better results.

The problem or the source of defeatist sentiments and views lies apparently in something else.

The party constantly draws attention to the fact that we have found ourselves at an extradordinarily complicated crossroads in our development. The options we face are either to continue the extensive methods of economy, or to assert and develop an intensive method of development. Taking the first path would mean seriously jeopardizing the attained living standards, while taking the second path would mean maintaining and improving them, preserving our social guarantees.

Intensification, effectiveness, quality and thrift are thus the only realistic alternative for the present and the period to come.

The extensive sources of growth have been virtually exhausted; the era of cheap raw materials is irrevokably a thing of the past; acquiring production resources is and will be connected with constantly growing costs and, in some instances, they are and will become outright inaccessible. It is concluded from this, from time to time, that this is precisely the only reason it is impossible to continue the extensive path of development. One then comes across the following assertion in some managerial agency, but also in our press: "This year -- and the trend will continue also in the years to come -- our economy has at its disposal lower material and energy supplies than previously. That is above all due to the amount of foreign currency means that can be used for that purpose."

We believe that such a notion is not dialectical because it confuses the substance of the matter and its manifestation, the causal connections and the consequences. True, attributing the material resources available to use to the lower "amount of foreign currency means" does not lack a certain degree of logic, but it is a formal logic, a logic that is a product of the old, outdated economic thinking, a product of the practices characteristic of extensive economic methods. Let us ask: Provided we had enough foreign currency means, the wasteful management that has been the case so far would evidently continue. But would this be a feasible path? Even if we succeeded, in one way or another, in expanding the traditional resources the economy needs for its reproduction process, for creating and achieving a growth of the national income, it would be a wrong way in a vicious circle.

The extensive method of production has not been exhausted only in terms of resources but in all terms -- it has been exhausted historically.

From time to time one also comes across the view that "the changed conditions of external economic relations inevitably create the need for changes also in a number of internal economic relations." We believe that this view, in its principle and possible consequences, is even more incorrect and dangerous than the view against which we have argued here, and that notwithstanding the fact that the situation on world markets and thus, objectively, also the conditions of external economic relations have really significantly changed. But are these conditions primary, decisive and determining for socialism, for us?

Let us think this question through to the end. The aforementioned view may elicit the notion and conviction that in building advanced socialism we are almost a plaything in the hands of monopolies and capitalist enterpreneurs, that we dance according to the tune they play. And even when we do not reach such limits of absurdity, it at least creates the notion that we are almost helpless in the face of developments on world markets and their consequences, that we must subordinate ourselves to them in what could almost be called a slavish way, or resignedly adapt ourselves to them.

However, such a view is simplified and undialectic. Certainly no one argues that our national economic activity is not influenced by both external and internal economic factors, regardless of whether they are a product of the situation on the world market or -- and this is the decisive issue -- a product of our economy's performance and of the quality of our own work. We cannot afford not to respect what is taking place in the capitalist world and to ignore the situation on the world market. Likewise, we must also try to foresee its development trend. However, the decisive thing is to know how to come actively to terms with the changing conditions, to be able to resist them effectively and to eliminate their negative impact as much as possible, instead of losing faith and adapting oneself to them in a passive and defeatist way.

Socialism develops according to its own objectively existing laws and logic. Acquiring profound recognition of these laws and logic creates the best conditions for comprehensively implementing their requirements, in the interests of a harmonious development of the national economy and the social sphere.

FISCHER COMMENTS ON DISARMAMENT, CSCE MEETING

LD191824 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1431 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 19 Feb (ADN) -- The GDR People's Chamber Committee for Foreign Affairs met on Friday in Berlin under its chairman, Deputy Hermann Axen.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer spoke on the foreign political efforts of the GDR to realize the peace concept of the 10th SED Congress in conditions of a noticeable aggravation of the international situation. Being situated immediately on the dividing line between socialism and capitalism, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the GDR makes its contribution in bilateral relations as well as in multilateral bodies, helping the policy of peaceful coexistence, of constructive dialogue and effective steps toward arms limitation and disarmament, toward a breakthrough.

This vital question of the peoples was also the main content of the talks between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the FRG chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, during his visit to the GDR. In view of the serious threat to world peace, the emphasis on the policy of peaceful coexistence and the necessity of arms limitation and disarmament, which had been agreed at this meeting, is of long-term significance. This corresponds to the interests of the peoples who do not want Europe to turn into a Euroshima.

The GDR expressly support the latest proposals of the Soviet Union which are directed toward arriving at an agreement in the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on a drastic reduction of all medium-range missiles in Europe and, as a first, immediate step, agreeing on a stop to all nuclear arming in Europe, quantiatatively as well as qualitatively. The realistically balanced proposals of the Soviet Union present a genuine alternative to the arms-drive policy, to the policy preventing disarmament.

Referring to the progress so far at the Madrid conference, Fischer emphasized the fundamental interest of the GDR in its successful conclusion with a final document which serves peaceful coexistence. In this, the calling of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe is the main question. Every participating state in the CSCE is faced by the decision whether to support those forces who speak in favor of a "sanctions" policy and thus threaten to destroy everything which has been achieved by way of detente.

After detailed discussion of the report by the foreign minister, the members of the committee expressed their thanks for the great work which was achieved by the SED Central Committee chairman and State Council chairman in his meeting with the FRG chancellor. The committee also discussed draft laws on the agreements on judicial assistance in civil, family, labor and criminal cases between the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique, as well as between the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola, moved by the state secretary in the justice ministry, Dr Herbert Kern.

AXEN ADDRESSES PEACE COUNCIL; OFFICERS ELECTED

LD182036 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1722 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 18 Feb (ADN) -- At a meeting of the GDR Peace Council in Berlin on Thursday, Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, spoke on current problems and tasks of the struggle for peace and disarmament. The meeting, which was opened by vice president Frau Deba Wieland, was attended by 250 representatives of the parties and mass organizations affiliated to the Peace Council and other public figures.

"We are all called upon", Hermann Axen stressed, "to strengthen the German peace state by contributing actively, every day, to the safeguarding of peace, to the strengthening of the world-wide front of all peace forces."

Turning to the present international situation in the struggle for peace Hermann Axen emphasized: "The enemies of detente have been caught unaware by the strength of the new peace movement which, as Erich Honecker said in his speech at the conference of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis executives a few days ago, extends beyond parties and frontiers and carries within itself all the elements to banish, jointly with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, the dangers posed to world peace by the most aggressive imperialist circles." The principal motive for this tremendous awakening and active stand of the popular forces, the speaker continued, is the concern over the course of confrontation, the arms drive and the unconcealed nuclear war propaganda of the most aggressive imperialist forces.

The stationing of U.S. death-missiles is intended to turn Western Europe into a launching ramp of nuclear war and thus abandoned it to destruction. It is no accident that former leading military representatives who are best qualified to judge the dangerous nature of the course of confrontation and nuclear arms drive, are committing themselves increasingly to the peace movement. "Millions of people in the capitalist world are convinced by their own experience of the correctness and constructive spirit of the comprehensive peace program of the socialist community put forward at the 26th CPSU Congress and endorsed in its entirety by the 10th SED Congress."

Hermann Axen stressed that the outcome of the negotiations in Geneva, in the UN Disarmament Committee in Vienna, in the discussions in Madrid and at the forthcoming special UN meeting on disarmament depend largely on the activities of the peace movement.

After Hermann Axen's speech, the meeting heard full reports from the president of the GDR Peace Council, Prof Dr Guenther Drefahl, and from Vice President Werner Ruempel and Gerhard Lindner, about the meeting of the World Peace Council Bureau in Copenhagen, the consultative meeting of peace movements in Amsterdam and of the disarmament dialogue in Vienna.

The unanimous view expressed in all reports was that notwithstanding differences of position, the peace movement is agreed that the peoples must step up their efforts to avert the danger of nuclear war from the continent of Europe. The discussion in which representatives of all sections of the population spoke was marked by a lively exchange of views and experience. Many practical suggestions for the future activities of the Peace Council were put forward.

The meeting supported the proposal of the president of the Peace Council, Prof Dr Drefahl, and elected Hermann Axen as a member of the Presidium of the GDR Peace Council. They elected Werner Ruempel as first vice president and secretary general of the Peace Council, and the following as vice presidents: Dr Georg Boehm, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Party Executive of the German Peasants' Party; Dr Hartmut Koenig, secretary of the FDJ Central Council; Horst Kreter, member of the Presidium and secretary of the NDP Main Committee, editor in chief of NATIONAL ZEITUNG, member of the People's Chamber; Gerhard Lindner, member of the Political Committee of the LDP Central Executive, member of the People's Chamber; Heide-Linde Mehlitz, departmental head in the DFD Central Executive; Margarete Mueller, member of the FDGB Central Executive; Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director of the Institute of International Politics and Economics; Prof Dr Gert Wendelborn, member of the National Council of the GDR National Front, member of the People's Chamber; Deba Wieland, member of the World Peace Council.

BORDER VIOLATOR FROM WEST BERLIN DETAINED

AU171232 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 12 February, a man from West Berlin violated the GDR state border in the area of the Berlin-Mitte Bezirk. The border violator was detained. He did not have any identification papers with him. According to his own statements he is Kurt Bojack.

The GDR authorities are examining the identity of the person and the details of the border violation.

CHURCH STANCE ON 'BERLIN APPEAL' REPORTED

DW181309 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 17 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] Berlin, 16 February (EPD) -- The Evangelical Church Administration in East Berlin has assessed the "Berlin Appeal -- Create Peace Without Arms," which became known early last week, as an expression of alarm and concern about peace, but has advised against signing the appeal. According to sources in East Berlin the church administration explains this stance with the concern that the collection of signatures will produce misunderstandings and jeopardize the necessary talks with the politically responsible people.

The "Berlin Appeal" calls for a nuclear-free Europe and negotiations to this end between the two German states which ultimately are to lead to the withdrawal of the occupation powers. In addition, it demands a broad discussion on peace.

The church administration's stance which was adopted at a closed meeting in Potsdam over the weekend has been conveyed to church circles of the Berlin-Brandenburg church and the other GDR regional churches. It describes the appeal which was initiated by East Berlin Minister Rainer Eppelmann as an expression of impatience at the fact that the politicians' effort for disarment and detente could drag on so long until it was too late. The church administration shared this impatience and the concern about peace. The appeal broached realities which must not be concealed. On the contrary, it should be possible to express this openly.

The church administration's opinion shows that a substantial part of the problems mentioned in the appeal has been repeatedly broached in the internal church discussion on peace and that a number of statements contained in the appeal are part of the internal church talks on peace.

HONECKER SENDS REPLY TO FDJ COUNCIL LETTER

AU181210 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Feb 82 p 1

[Letter from SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker in reply to a letter from the FDJ Central Council]

[Text] First secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Comrade Egon Krenz, Berlin:

Dear Comrade Egon Krenz! Dear friends!

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, I thank you for the outstanding economic initiatives with which the FDJ participates in the struggle for implementing our demanding plan targets. This is demonstrated by the results which are achieved above all in the youth brigades in accordance with the slogan "Everyone Everyday with a Good Balance."

Always, our party has transferred important projects of socialist construction to the FDJ. Therefore we like to comply with your request to transfer to you the contribution of the GDR in the construction of the natural gas pipeline in the USSR as another central youth project of the FDJ, as youth project "Natural Gas Route."

We are convinced that you will make this new central youth project in the country of Lenin a place of communist education, a place of struggle for high efficiency and quality, a cadre forge for thousands of young workers and a center of manifold interesting FDJ work -- following the great traditions of the "Druzhba-Route" and the "FDJ Initiative Berlin." It will certainly provide many stimuli for the work of the FDJ in all fields.

We wish all FDJ members, all youth much success in further implementing the "FDJ Assignment 10th Party Congress."

[Signed] In friendship, Erich Honecker

Berlin, 15 February 1982

KLEIBER ENDS IRAQ VISIT, AGREEMENT SIGNED

LD181938 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1830 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Feb (ADN) -- The 7th meeting of the GDR-Iraqi standing committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation was successfully concluded in Baghdad on Thursday. At the end of the meeting the two chairmen of the committee, Guenther Kleiber, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Hasan 'Ali, member of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council, minister of trade and member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, signed an agreed record of the results of the meeting. The document contains provisions for the further deepening of cooperation in important sectors of industry, agriculture, transport, the building industry, geology and public health.

Both sides unanimously emphasized the successful work accomplished within the framework of the standing committee and its subcommittees for putting into effect the expensive projects in various fields. They stressed the importance of the talks between the chairmen of the committee and of the many constructive meetings of experts for the successful economic cooperation of the two countries.

During his 6-day visit, Guenther Kleiber had a meeting with Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council, president of Iraq and secretary general of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolution Command Council and first deputy prime minister; and other leading Iraqi politicians. Saddam Husayn paid tribute to the close and fruitful cooperation between his country and the GDR, and emphasized the wide-ranging prospects for the further development of their traditional relations. Taking his leave, Guenther Kleiber expressed his thanks for the cordial reception in Iraq and described his visit as another important step toward strengthening anti-imperialist cooperation, and toward the steady development of multifaceted political and economic relations with Iraq.

More on Kleiber Talks

For Baghdad INA reportage of Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Guenther Kleiber's talks with Iraqi Officials including Minister of Trade Hasan 'Ali, Acting Planning Minister Thamir Razuqi and First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan which included the signing of the joint minutes at the conclusion of the seventh session of the joint Iraq-GDR committee for economic, trade and technical cooperation and a report on the message from GDR State Council Chairman Honecker to Iraq's President Saddam Husayn, see the Iraq section of the 17 and 19 February Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT.

1982 TRADE PROTOCOL WITH CUBA SIGNED

LD171922 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 17 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 17 Feb (ADN) -- The annual GDR-Cuba trade protocol for 1982 was signed in Berlin on Wednesday. It is based on the long-term bilateral trade agreement for the period to 1985, which provides for a steady increase in trade. In 1982 the GDR will chiefly export to Cuba engineering goods as well as communications and computer equipment. It will deliver steam generators and turbo-generators to implement the CEMA general agreement concerning the comprehensive development of Cuba's sugar industry. Chemicals including plant protection agents and films, as well as textiles, toys and sports equipment will also be exported. The GDR will import from Cuba chiefly sugar, citrus fruits, agricultural raw materials for industry and nickel.

U.S. ECONOMIC POLICIES CAUSE 'GREATER DISQUIET'

LD201144 Budapest in English to Europe 2100 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Judy Nagy commentary on "International Newsroom" program]

[Text] At his inauguration, President Reagan promised a tough but rational economic policy to bring down the inflation rate and begin economic recovery. His immediate predecessors in the White House have found that action to bring down inflation deepened the recession, and any attempt to stimulate growth led to higher inflation. President Reagan [words indistinct] these problems [word indistinct] as supply-side economics, to tackle the problem of low growth and productivity by cutting taxes, particularly for the rich. It was argued by his advocates that the tax cuts would not lead to any loss of revenue, and the extra growth stimulated by the tax cuts would soon see higher revenue from taxes flowing into budget funds. This has not worked out, and because he also wants to increase military spending, the President is cutting other areas of government spending, particularly on social and welfare projects.

There is of course a certain rationale in this policy, even if it does throw the main burden of the crisis onto those least able to bear it. For that, whatever rational element they have, supply-side economics are immediately made irrational by a military budget of astronomic proportion. Leaving aside the rational motivation of seeking global military superiority, the economic results are chaotic. Instead of a balanced budget and low inflation rates of President Reagan's pledges, the United States has a huge budgetary deficit and high inflation. The resulting steep increase in U.S. interest rates with its effect of slowing down the economy and increasing unemployment, has had its inevitable repercussions in Western Europe.

For West European countries, primarily those [words indistinct], high U.S. interest rates virtually torpedo their attempts to encourage investment and growth, as the key to (?bring) down catastrophic levels of unemployment. Obviously, if U.S. interest rates are nearly 20 percent, then West European investment capital is attracted to that country by the prospect of a rate of profit much higher than in any country in Europe. For West European governments, many of them already deeply disturbed at aspects of American foreign policy, and all of them grappling with economic recession, these added difficulties are likely to cause even greater disquiet about the rationale of President Reagan's policies, domestic and foreign.

U.S. SANCTIONS CALLED 'ANTI-SOVIET OFFENSIVE'

LD202254 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 20 Feb (MTI) -- Commenting on the most recent anti-Soviet sanctions, planned by the Reagan administration with the pretext of "deterioration of the Polish situation," Saturday's MAGYAR HIRLAP points at the double-faced character of the American policy. "Provided Washington really has the Polish situation at its heart and holds the Soviet Union responsible for it, why does it punish with economic sanctions the country from which it should expect an improvement in its situation?"

Of Washington's policy the commentator writes: "What we are witnessing is a well-organized and general anti-Soviet offensive, and the reduction of the U.S. allies to obedience so that they espouse someone else's political will and accept also an economic subordination."

The U.S. subordinates its international economic relations to false defence policy considerations, the daily writes. But "what is bearable for Washington is not necessarily suitable for the allies." That is shown by the almost hopeless efforts made by the allies to "abide by Washington instructions with their political moves and, at the same time, not to damage their relations with the East."

"Though the Western contributions in Madrid fully deserve the description of interference in Polish internal affairs and are capable of sidetracking the meeting, they have not served the goal expected from the overseas: They have not sacrificed at the altar of the Polish hysteria this well-functioning East-West forum," the Budapest daily points out.

POLAND'S OZDOWSKI ARRIVES FOR TALKS WITH MARJAI

LD211428 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Hungarian-Polish economic talks are to be held in Budapest. Jerzy Ozdowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, has arrived in our capital to participate in the session of the Committee for Economic, Technical-Scientific Cooperation of the two countries. He will discuss the expansion of economic relations with his partner, Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai.

POLISH BUILDING INDUSTRY COOPERATION DISCUSSED

LD220030 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 20 Feb (MTI) -- Hungarian-Polish talks took place here between 17 and 20 February on construction and building materials industry issues. The delegations were led by Hungarian Deputy Minister of Construction and Urban Development Lajos Szilagyi and Edward Waszek, undersecretary at the Polish Ministry of Building and the Building Materials Industry. It was discussed how jointly to use untapped capacities of Polish building materials producing installations. The talks also covered cooperation in production, based on benefits for both sides.

The Polish delegation left Budapest on Saturday.

MAGYARORSZAG COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH POLAND

LD211930 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 21 Feb (MTI) -- "Interest, concern and support -- general Hungarian sentiments can still be characterized the best by these three words," a leader in the latest edition of the Hungarian political weekly MAGYARORSZAG reads: "Interest in the course of Polish events in the wake of the introduction of the state of emergency, concern over the fact that time and again anti-socialist forces perpetrate blatant provocations, and support to all those efforts and measures that aim at restoring law and order and the normal conditions required for the building of socialism."

This attitude was eloquently expressed during Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja's recent Warsaw talks and the communique about it, MAGYARORSZAG writes.

"The Hungarian and the Polish Governments are resolved to intensively develop political, economic, cultural and technical-scientific cooperation. Today it is the affair of not only these two countries," the weekly writes. "All relations that help Poland surmount the present serious crisis are today of international significance. Such relations help the Warsaw government withstand the imperialist pressure, avert the interference in Poland's internal affairs and counter the financial and economic sanctions, mounted by capitalist countries against Poland and other socialist countries."

When Minister Puja and his Polish counterpart formulated their stand on Poland, they in fact made an unequivocal statement on a key issue of the present international situation, MAGYARORSZAG writes. "They stressed that, for the United States and NATO, Poland was just a pretext for torpedoing detente, since their moves aim at strengthening the tendencies of confrontation and encouraging hostile attitudes toward the socialist countries, which endanger the peace in Europe."

"Hungary and Poland are responding to these efforts by stepping up their efforts at curbing the arms race, promoting disarmament and averting the danger of war. Their activities are in harmony with the international activities and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community," the leader in MAGYARORSZAG writes.

CHERNENKO ARTICLE CITED ON POLAND, PARTY ROLE

LD191218 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] The leading rule of the party is not given, guaranteed once and for all. The party must justify this every day with every one of its decisions. This was emphasized by Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, in his article written on the work style and methods of the party.

In the party history periodical he points out, referring to the developments in Poland: If the party does not act in this manner then, as the experiences of the past years prove, the political situation can become critical. Neither can it be permitted that the communists should try to subsist on the merits of the past. For this reasons, the CPSU believes that a constant modernization of the style and methods of the leadership is necessary.

Chernenko, on the development of democracy within the party, emphasizes the role of the detailed and exact briefing of the membership as well as criticism and self-criticism. He points out that particuarly criticism coming from below cannot be dealt with by waving one's hand. At the same time, criticism must not be one sided. Neither must there be a fear that the (?class enemy) might use sincere criticism to run down socialism.

SOVIET OFFICIAL REVIEWS 1981 TRADE RELATIONS

LD191234 Budapest MTI in English 1033 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 18 Feb (MTI) -- The Hungarian-Soviet trade turnover continues to develop successfully, and the two countries' economic cooperation is to become more effective by the introduction of new methods and up-to-date forms, stressed Viktor Ivanovich Ocheretin, commercial representative of the Soviet Union in Hungary, at a press conference held in Budapest on Thursday.

The Hungarian-Soviet turnover grew by 12 per cent in 1981, and the two countries envisage a trade worth 6,800 million roubles in 1982. Almost 90 percent of oil, 95 percent of gas and 93 percent of iron imported by Hungary are delivered by the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, almost a half of the exported Hungarian machinery and equipment are sold in the Soviet Union. Production cooperations offer great opportunities for the two countries' economic relations: 113 cooperation and specialization agreements are in force between the two countries at present. The most profitable cooperation has developed in the vehicle industry, and the importance of cooperation is to grow in electronics too. The Soviet commercial representative mentioned that the Western Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline would be lead through Hungary, and the signing of the agreement on it was expected to be signed in the second or the third quarter of the year.

Gas Delivery Contract Signed

LD192146 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI) -- Based on the 1982 Hungarian-Soviet goods exchange agreement and the long-term accord on the Orenburg gas pipeline, the 1982 gas delivery contract was signed by Deputy General Directors Denes Kerekes of Mineralimpex and Yuriy Ruzakov of Soyuzgasexport here today.

Hungary has received regular Soviet supplies by the Orenburg pipeline since 1979, the just signed contract, worth over 300 million roubles, allows to meet some 40 per cent of the country's overall need in natural gas.

MOSCOW PRAVDA CITED ON COAL PRODUCTION DEFICIT

LD191506 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Soviet coal mines have not fulfilled their plans for 4 years. In January of this year, one-fifth of the mines were unable to cope with their planned tasks. This is established by Moscow PRAVDA today. It criticizes the ministry responsible because it is not devoting adequate attention to better work organization, increased productivity, the observance of technological stipulations or the strengthening of work discipline. Due to the fault of the ministry, R730 million intended for investment last year was not spent. Production at mines which were opened fell short of that planned by more than 5 million tons, writes PRAVDA.

LEADERS RECEIVE SOVIET ENVOY BAZOVSKI 19 FEB

LD200504 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, received today Vladimir Nikolayevich Bazovski, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic to Hungary, at an introductory call.

PARTY DELEGATION RETURNS FROM CSSR 19 FEB

LD201202 Budapest MTI in English 1005 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI) -- A Hungarian party activist delegation, headed by Mihaly Kornidesz, member of the HSWP Central Committee and head of the CC Scientific, Educational and Cultural Department, after concluding a visit to Prague paid on February 18-19, at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, returned home on Friday. The delegation had talks with Miroslav Muller, head of the Cultural Department of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, on current issues of party control over cultural life, and met representatives of Czechoslovak artists' communities. The HSWP delegation was received by Josef Havlin, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party CC.

GASPAR RETURNS FROM CUBA WFTU CONGRESS 18 FEB

LD200500 Budapest MTI in English 1038 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 18 Feb (MTI) -- A Hungarian trade union delegation, headed by Sandor Gaspar, president of the World Federaton of Trade Unions [WFTU] and secretary-general of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, returned from Havana on Thursday, where it attended the 10th WFTU World Congress.

HAVASI RETURNS FROM 14-18 FEB CUBA VISIT

LD201024 Budapest MTI in English 0629 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI) -- Ferenc Havasi, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, paid a visit to Havana between February 14 and 18 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party (CCP).

Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Council of State and president of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, received Ferenc Havasi, and they discussed current international issues, the state of liberation movements in the Caribbean region, and the struggle against the imperialist intervention.

Ferenc Havasi and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the CCP Political Committee and vice-president of the Council of Ministers, surveyed the opportunities for the development of the international and Hungarian-Cuban economic cooperation, and the experience gained in national economic management.

Ferenc Havasi had talks with Jesus Montaneval, supernumerary member of the CP Political Committee and member of the CC's Secretariat, on the further development of the two parties' cooperation and current issues of the international communist and workers movement.

He exchanged views with Lionel Sotoval, member of the CCP CC Secretariat, on the development of the international economic situation, including the crisis of the capitalist world, and its influence on the Hungarian and Cuban economies, as well as the ways of severing it. They informed each other on the state of the implementation of the national economic plans respectively.

Ferenc Havasi returned to Budapest on Friday.

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH CUBA HELD 18-19 FEB

Lazar Receives Fernandez

LD182040 Budapest MTI in English 1737 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 18 Feb (MTI) -- Hungarian-Cuban economic talks has started in Budapest.

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, received today Jose Ramon Fernandez, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers and co-chairman of the Hungarian-Cuban Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, who has arrived in Budapest to attend the 11th session of the committee. Present at the meeting was Jose A. Rabares del Real, Cuban ambassador to Hungary.

During the plenary meeting of the two delegations, headed by Hungarian Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai and Jose Ramon Fernandez, co-chairmen of the committee, the development of the Hungarian-Cuban economic relations since the last committee meeting was surveyed and the results and tasks of the two countries' exchange of goods were assessed. A report was also delivered on the development of technical-scientific cooperation.

Talks End; Document Signed

LD201134 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI) -- By signing an aide-memoire, the 11th session of Hungarian-Cuban Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee concluded here on Friday. Deputy prime ministers, Jozsef Marjai and Jose Ramon Fernandez, co-chairmen of the cooperation committee, stated in the course of the talks that the Hungarian-Cuban economic relations had developed successfully and in harmony with the comprehensive agreements made at the session held in April, 1981. Since then an annual plan-documentation agreement for 1981-85 has been signed, as well as the long-term agreement on the exchange of goods. Trade turnover for the period of 1981-85 is envisaged to surpass that of the previous plan period by 70 per cent.

The committee stated that the 1981 external trade requirements were met. The 1982 protocol foresees a 20 per cent growth in turnover, compared to that of 1981.

The committee stated with satisfaction that the implementation of the agreement on assembling Ikarus buses in Cuba was going on well. The Ikarus buses assembled in Cuba considerably contribute to the modernization of Havana's public transport, and strengthen cooperation relations between the two countries. The session adopted resolutions on improving cooperation in other fields, such as health technology and the pharmaceutical industry.

Under the comprehensive Hungarian-Cuban technical-scientific cooperation, Hungary provides assistence for Cuba in the implementation of her accelerated scientific and technological development project, and the exploration of her mineral resources. Jozsef Marjai and J.R. Fernandez signed a bilateral agreement on this matter.

Fernandez Departs 20 Feb

LD210924 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] 20 Feb (MTI) -- Jose Ramon Fernandez, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and chairman of the Cuban section of the Hungarian-Cuban Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Commission, who visited Hungary on the occasion of the 11th session of the commission, left Budapest on Saturday. In addition to discussing issues featuring on the agenda of the commission, he had talks with Jozsef Marjai, deputy prime minister and Hungarian co-chairman of the bilateral commission, on international economic issues affecting both countries. Jose Fernandez also met Imre Pozsgay, minister of culture.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS WITH BULGARIA END

LD181048 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 18 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 17 Feb (MTI) -- The 17th session of the Hungarian-Bulgarian Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee concluded here on Wednesday. Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, co-chairmen of the committee, signed an aide-memoire on the resolutions of the session.

The committee stated that the economic cooperation between the two countries had developed dynamically and in harmony with the mutually determined targets since its last meeting. Trade turn over grew by 11 per cent in 1981, including an increased share of products manufactured under production cooperations and specialization. The committee attached great attention to the further development of economic and technical-scientific cooperation of the two countries and the socialist economic integration in the coming period until 1990. It determined tasks for the extension of cooperation in the various sectors of engineering, such as the production of diesel engines, road vehicles, microelectronics, industrial robots and automatic production lines. Further targets were determined for the improvement of relations in agriculture and the food industry.

NEPSZABADSAG INTERVIEWS MIKLOS ON CHURCH POLICY

LD210040 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 20 Feb (MTI) -- Saturday's NEPSZABADSAG carries an interview with State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs, on topical questions of Hungarian church policy and the relation of state and church in Hungary.

"In Hungary the state-church relationship has been settled for over two decades," Imre Miklos said. In this connection, he referred to the Central Committee's report to the 12th Congress of the MSZMP, which said: In the spirit of the Constitution, the Hungarian state assures the freedom of conscience and the conditions for the autonomous operation of the churches. The religious people participate in the building of socialism and in public life as citizens with equal rights with the other people. The churches honour the laws of our state and support the enriching of this country..."

"Experiences of the two years since the congress have proved that the evaluation laid down in the Central Committee's report is well-founded," Imre Miklos said. "Although the sharpening of the international situation has strengthened certain reactionary efforts -- such efforts could be experienced in earlier similar periods -- but the positive tendency of the consolidated good relations of state and churches has not changed."

He added that the settled state-church relations is a key precondition of the national unity in which the Hungarian people have built socialism for decades. Referring to the sharpening of the international situation and the anti-socialist bourgeois campaign of propaganda, he said in Hungary it was impossible to win religious people for anti-socialist programmes.

"Events in Poland have not disturbed the state-church relationship in Hungary. The Hungarian church leaders have espoused an appeal by the Hungarian Red Cross and called on congregations to help the Polish population with donations."

"At the same time, we also see an upsurge and sharpening in incitement from 'expert' and 'well-informed' foreign and domestic sources. Some are attempting to prove their 'truth' by propagating ever new doctrines of faith. It is beyond our competence and not our task to speak of questions of dogma. We consider such debates the internal affairs of the churches, but, of course, we cannot stand idly by cases when religious polemics are just pretexts to camouflage political issues, which therefore, breach laws of the state..."

Imre Miklos added that the Hungarian churches conducted many-sided and active international activities.

"The Hungarian churches resolutely condemn various attempts at reviving cold war politics, the evil doctrines serving them, such as the propagation of the possibility of a limited nuclear war, the threat with the production of the neutron warhead, the embargo, and interference in the internal affairs of other states."

"Now that the international tensions are sharpening, when reactionary circles are stepping up their armament efforts, it is of outstanding importance that the forces of the churches join more forcefully than ever before the struggle against the danger of an atomic war." He said it would be an outstanding event of international cooperation when a conference for all the world's religions will be held in May in Moscow, at the initiative of Patriarch Pimen, leader of the Russian Eastern church.

Imre Miklos also said that again this summer church leaders of the socialist countries are to hold a meeting in Budapest with leaders of the World Council of Churches. The Lutheran World Federation is to hold its next world assembly in Budapest in 1984. "We fully support the holdings of these meetings for, relying on positive experiences, we believe that the churches wish to remain the promoters not of confrontation but the cooperation of peoples."

Imre Miklos added that there have been regular contacts between the Hungarian Government and the Vatican for about two decades.

"The 1977 meeting between Janos Kadar and Pope Paul II was an outstanding stage of this process. They mutually confirmed the principles under which the Vatican accepted Hungary's social and political order: The state assures the freedom of conscience and the free exercise of religion, and all problems are settled through negotiations and the reaching of agreement. The accords have been correctly implemented by both sides. Both sides have strived to have this welcome process continued."

We positively evaluate the stands by realistically thinking representatives of the Vatican, which confirm that the road, started in 1963, has been correct and fruitful, and which express their satisfaction over the fact that the Hungarian Government's representatives are ready to have further discussions on the yet unsettled problems and on any other future problems. In the forthcoming weeks we shall have consultations in Budapest with representatives of the Vatican and, as far as it can be judged beforehand, it will be our mutual effort to find solutions to all the questions to be raised."

"The development of the relations of the Vatican, the Hungarian Government and the Catholic Church has [word indistinct] for certain signs indicate that the debates between various tendencies in the internationally organized 'world churches' do not exclude the strengthening of tendencies that stand for realistic policies. We intend to maintain our relations with the Vatican on the principled basis of good relations and our firm social situation, as far as the domestic and international conditions and possibilities allow us to," said in this his interview with NEPSZABADSAG State Secretary Imre Miklos.

GOVERNMENT REVIEWS 1981 ENERGY SAVINGS PROGRAM

LD191228 Budapest MTI in English 1039 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 19 Feb (MTI) -- At its Thursday session the Hungarian Government reviewed the fulfilment of the 1981 energy management program and established that the central measures urging greater thrift with fuels had brought favourable changes.

The Hungarian national economy used less energy than planned during the past two years. In 1981, while industrial production and the national income grew, energy consumption declined in absolute value, as well as the specific energy consumption per one unit of the national income.

The results are to be thanked, among other things, to concrete organizational measures, higher energy prices which urge thriftier use and the effects of other economic regulators.

Also enterprisal initiatives have promoted the objectives of the central energy management program. For example, about 30 per cent more than calculated energy can be saved with the utilization of waste heat. By way of another step towards more austere electricity consumption, the companies have reduced their need during the peak hours and use more during the slacker night hours. The energy austerity program envisages the saving of the equivalent of 200,000 tons of oil till the end of the current plan term in 1985. In 1981 the companies managed to save a total of 45,000 tons.

Research continues in Hungary for alternative energy sources to replace hydrocarbons. Special encouragement is being given to the Bajforound industry which produces energy-saving equipment.

LOSONCZI MEETS WITH LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS

LD172248 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, is acquainting himself today with the life of Budapest's fourth district, Ujpest. The member of the party Politburo was welcomed at the Ujpest party committee offices by Mrs Andras Kiraly, secretary of the Budapest party committee, (Laszlo Zavori), first secretary of the district party committee, and Ferenc Kovacs, chairman of the district council. The first secretary of the district party committee then briefed Pal Losonczi about the situation in Ujpest, and the problems and tasks of the district. After the briefing, Pal Losonczi left on a sightseeing tour. He is to meet workers from the district at one of the Ujpest plants in the afternoon.

JARUZELSKI VISIT TO MOSCOW SET FOR EARLY MARCH

LD211810 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] A party-state delegation of the Polish People's Republic led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, will pay an official visit to the USSR at the beginning of next month.

WARSAW ANNOUNCES POLITBURO, SEJM MEETINGS

PZPR Plenum To Meet 24 Feb

LD201812 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo met today and acquainted itself with the current sociopolitical situation of the country.

The Politburo has decided to convene the Seventh Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee on 24-25 February.

Sejm to Meet 26 Feb

LD201336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to convene the 19th session of the house on 26 and 27 February. The session is to start on 26 February at 1100.

The agenda provides for the following: report by the Mandate and Regulations Commission with regard to the matter of deputies' mandates being filled; report by the Commission for Matters of Workers' Self-Government in Enterprises; by the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and by the Commission for Legislative Work on the government draft acts on socioeconomic planning, on prices, on financial management of state enterprises, on introduction of tax for establishments [jednostki] of socialized economy, on banking law, on the conferment of a statute on the National Bank of Poland, on state statistics, on authorization to engage in foreign trade and on the draft act regarding the matter of defining the list of goods and services on which official prices are set, introduced by the commissions.

Subsequently, the agenda for the Sejm session provides for the following:

The first reading of deputies' draft acts on constitutional amendment [literally in Polish: "Changing the Constitution": O Zmianie Konstytucji] and on the tribunal of state;

The first reading of the deputies' draft act on cooperatives and their associations;

The setting up of an extraordinary commission to examine the draft act on cooperatives and their associations;

Reports by the Commission for Legislative Work and Commission for Labor and Social Affairs on the government drafts proposing changes in the act on retirement benefits for miners and their families; on changes in the act on orders and medals; on changes in the act on universal retirement benefits for employees and their families and on the institution of an hononary title: Meritorious Port Worker of the Polish People's Republic.

It is also envisaged that the Commission for Science and Technological Progress and the Commission for Legislative Work will deliver reports on the government draft act on setting up the state nuclear physics agency; that there will be deputies' question time and that the individual composition of Sejm commissions will be changed.

The PZPR Deputies Club will hold a meeting on 27 February in the Columns Hall of the Sejm building at 0900.

The ZSL Deputies Club will hold a meeting on 25 February in the Columns Hall of the Sejm building at 1615.

The SD Deputies Club will hold a meeting on 26 February in Hall 118 of the Sejm building at 1700.

TRYBUNA LUDU QUOTES WALESA DENIAL ON LEAFLETS

LD201534 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 20 Feb 82

["Falsehood and Facts" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Feb (PAP) -- Western correspondents reported after a meeting with Father Jankowski who is in contact with Lech Walesa that the latter conveyed to him a declaration denying his involvement in the publication of leaflets circulated in Poland and calling for passive resistance to martial law, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today, quoting Mr Walesa as stating: "I declare that I have not issued any leaflets between December 13 and February 16. All the texts that have appeared bearing my signiture have been falsified."

Walesa's denial requires some comment. Leaflets and appeals, so readily used by Western mass media, Radio Free Europe in particular, are a fact. If they were falsified, then, the question is: By whom? Who might be interested in doing this. Certainly not the authorities, the daily pointed out further.

Those engaging in falsifying leaflets ought to be sought among the Solidarnosc extremists who consider even such methods good if only they allow to stir the feelings and illusions. The aim is obvious: To create, through this, too, a successive myth of a powerful Solidarnosc underground. The objective is also to slander the authorities, to call for disobedience and misinform the society.

For it is the Solidarnosc sources that are quoted by Western news agencies when reporting that the number of internees in Poland is close to 60,000.

Paper, [as received], as is known, is patient. But such practices do not constitute a proper prelude to the reconstruction of the independent trade unions movement in Poland, TRYBUNA LUDU concluded.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS COMMITTEE ADOPTS TU PLAN

LD211938 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Feb (PAP) -- As was reported, a meeting of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs took place, at which a document initiating public discussion of the problems of the future of trade unions in Poland was discussed and adopted. The document says in particular:

The Polish trade union movement has a long tradition and a rich experience of struggle in defense of the interests of the working class, representing the needs of the working people and of building the achievements of socialist Poland. During the past 5 years, mistakes increased, and there has arisen a divergence between the role, tasks and methods of the trade union movement's activities, and the real needs of the masses. However the solid, positive values which were formed in the past decades should be born in mind during the discussion of the content and form of the trade union movement.

The committee expresses the conviction that the trade union movement which will come into being according to the will of the working class will not return to the forms, methods and style of work which provoked a protest from the working people before August 1980. The committee expresses the conviction that the movement also will not approve those plans, tendencies and activities which pushed many figures and part of the membership of the NSZZ Solidarity into a position of struggle with the socialist state.

The committee considers that self-governing trade unions, which are independent of the administration and the state employer, and which are a general platform for participation in the government of the country, are a necessary factor in the development of socialist democracy and are opposed to displays of bureaucratization in sections of the government.

An important duty of the trade union movement is defense of the interests of the working people. The high social role of the trade union movement will only be preserved when its opinion is seriously taken into account in questions concerning the conditions of work and life of all working people. The trade union movement should have the right to receive the relevant governmental information, and on the basis of this, adopt a position on the question of social-economic plans, and also on a number of other economic and social decisions of the organs of state and economic departments which are important for working people. It should come to an agreement with employers on principles of employment and promotion, conditions of work, the size of bonus payments, means of pay and resource allocation.

The trade unions should be partners of employers and working people's organs of self-government. The idea of constructive cooperation in partnership should form the basis of relations between sections of the authorities and the trade union movement.

In order to express their views, and in order that these views are based on genuine views of the working class, the trade union movement should have the possibility of conducting independent research and analysis, and should have its own press and access to the mass news media.

Factory trade union organizations should carry out a number of new functions in initiative, consultation, control and mutual help, on such issues as social-consumer, housing and cultural-education problems, systems of moral and material incentives, safety and hygiene at work, the legal defense of the worker, and creation and distribution of wage resources. The effect of this should be growth in the significance and role of the factory trade union organization.

In accordance with the arrangements for economic regorm, many functions, which have so far been fulfilled by the state employer, will be taken over by the self-governing institutions of the working people. The functions of care for the human being and results of his labor, and also for the distribution of labor and the correct organization of it are to make up a unified whole.

In combining these functions, the trade union movement is to contribute to the idea of uniting Poles around the resolution by their own efforts on the most important social and economic problems of our generation. It must not contribute with its activity to a political split in society, the propagation of anarchy and tension or the conduct of a policy aimed against the socialist order.

The common aim of Poles in the current decade is the continuation of socialist renewal, and the common good is a sovereign, socialist state.

The right to participate in submitting solutions is closely linked with bearing responsibility. For that reason the committee believes that, in approaching a discussion on the formation of a trade union movement, the legal and political conditions guaranteeing these supreme interests for a socialist state should first of all be determined. The main conditions are also contained in the social treaties of August 1980. In particular, it is a matter of acknowledging public ownership of the means of production, of the strict observance by the trade union movement of law and order in the state, of respecting the principles of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, of acknowledging the leading role of the PZPR in society and its guiding role in the state, of acknowledging the international alliances of the Polish People's Republic and its activity in favor of strengthening them, of conducting international activity in accordance with the principles of the foreign policy of Poland.

The principles of the charter, the organizational structure and the actions of the trade union movement should guarantee that it will really be a trade union movement without pretending to have the role of a political party.

The following organizational and political preconditions, the fulfillment of which is to provide conditions for the renewal of the trade union movement, are given priority:

It is essential to create clear charter principles which will not allow the trade union movement to be used for antisocialist political activity and to be disguised as a legal trade union to be used as a cover for the activity of illegal, antistate organizations.

All of the working people must have the possibility of enjoying trade union rights completely. The principle of voluntarily belonging to a trade union must be observed. However, taking into account the special nature of the work and the type of duties carried out, the committee considers it justified -- in accordance with ILO conventions, which allow for such a possibility -- to exclude the possibility of certain groups of workers uniting in trade unions. In particular, this concerns workers of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and institutions and enterprises subordinated to them, as well as some other groups of state workers, including workers in state administration, the courts and procurator's office. The rights of this group of working people must be guaranteed in law by another method.

The rights of citizens to belong to trade unions, as well as the prerogatives and clearly defined duties of trades unions, as determined by law, must be in keeping with the principle that the trade union movement expresses the professional and social interests of the working people.

The draft bill on trade unions which the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic is to adopt embraces all the basic guarantees of direction and independence of the trade union movement which the working class demanded. The draft bill envisages the preservation of the right to strike as an extreme measure. However striking should be used only when all other means for defending the interests of the working people and methods for eliminating conflict by means of talks and mediation have been exhausted. The strike weapon must not be abused, must not be employed hastily at the first opportunity that presents itself. There can be no place for strikes of a political nature. Responsibility for the strike must be laid upon leaders of enterprises or higher organs who as a result of incompetence or ill intention allowed the conflict to arise, or on the strike organizers who consciously resorted to using this extreme measure.

For a socialist state, the question of which foreign trade union centers the trade union movement in Poland should cooperate with is not an indifferent one. Trade unions operating in conditions of socialist order cannot cooperate with political forces and trade union centers which occupy a hostile position in relation to socialist Poland.

After August 1980 a split occurred in the Polish trade union movement. The position of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions which, not shunning the defense of interests of the working people in this difficult period, tried simultaneously not to deepen the chaos and to avoid strikes which ruin the national economy, should be noted with gratitude.

The summer of 1980 brought new and important trends and phenomena to the life of trade unions. The tide of events during this summer gave birth to NSZZ "Solidarity." The working people put their trust in the new trade union, placing many hopes and expectations in it. Soon however its leadership ceased to engage in trade union activity and began to impose on "Solidarity" a formula for political opposition, a destructive action which in creating anarchy in the life of the country denied the true interests of the working people.

It is difficult however to lay responsibility for this on rank and file members of "Solidarity" and on every single staff worker in the trade union. Responsibility for perverting the nature of the trade union and for breaking the August agreements belongs primarily to those "Solidarity" leaders and also to the organizers of hostile political groups and to many advisers and experts who took control of individual sections of "Solidarity" and began to exercise an ever increasing influence on the formation of the trade union's adventurist policy. Many people acted in an emotional way while others did not show sufficient good sense. But this chapter must be closed. No one can be discriminated against and even more so no one can be punished only for belonging to any legal active trade union and for activity in keeping with the rules and provisions of the law.

The members of every trade union have the full right to speak out in the current discussion on the future of the trade union movement and on ways to restructure it so that it really serves the interests of the workers and not the interests of enemies of socialism. For anyone who sincerely wishes to act for the good of his or her enterprise the path is open for social activity.

However, persons known for their destructive actions cannot return to this activity.

The future of the rejuvenated trade union movement in the country will be decided at the factories, in the institutions and in enterprises. The imposition on the working people of prepared organizational formulas is incompatible with the concept of socialist legality and democracy. The committee is listening attentively to the voice of those who create national wealth and by their labor assist in extracting the country from the crisis.

We favor creative business-like discussion conducted in conditions of calm and respect for the law, concludes the document. Calm is a necessary condition for constructive decisions. Every participant in the discussion must speak on his or her own behalf and with his own voice. The voices of evident opponents of socialism and of those who have shown that they support confrontation are not needed by anyone. But every voice from an honest worker in this discussion must resound loud and clear.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH ON FUTURE TU MAKEUP, ROLE

LD191456 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 19 Feb 82

["What Trade Unions?" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Feb (PAP) -- In a contribution to the public debate on the future shape of trade unions in Poland, the SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily's Ryszard Naleszkiewich points to the widespread awareness of the fact that the revived trade unions "cannot be the same as before December 13, 1981, or as in the previous periods."

The reactivation of the government Trade Union Committee, announced yesterday, signifies the onset of a public discussion on the subject and proves that the absence of trade unions in the normalizing social life, "will be increasingly felt," writes the newspaper.

"The new trade union movement was born of the working class protest against distortions. Therefore, it should have had an essentially class character -- protect the interests of those who make the largest contribution to the functioning of the state.

"Meanwhile, the largest union of that movement was organized on the basis of solidarism with the other strata and classes whose interests are not always convergent and often incompatible with the interests of the working class," opines the daily.

The daily goes on to say that the Solidarnosc union, which operated on the basis of solidarism, accordingly granted the right to strike -- a typically worker weapon -- to everybody.

Hence, the general questions which the daily suggests should be raised in the public debate on the trade unions are as follows:

"Can everybody, including civil servants and managerial cadres, have the right to strike?

"Is it possible to defend the class interest in a union organized on the solidaristic supraclass principles?

"Do the attempts to mix university professor, a ministry officer, a farmer and a shipyard welder not lead exclusively to political actions?"

Ryszard Naleszkiewicz writes in conclusion:

"I am convinced that only a class union -- where unity stems from the common source, the same interests and similar work -- can defend the workers' rights.

"The most important thing is to devise such a future model of Poland in which her necessary element, the trade unions, help her to develop, to avoid violent social conflicts, and to consolidate the position of the working class whose work is the mainstay of this state."

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEMBER DISCUSSES UNIONS

LD211522 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Interview with Professor Kazimierz Doktor of the Polish Academy of Sciences conducted by unidentified interviewer -- live in studio]

[Text] [Question] What trade unions [words indistinct]?

[Answer] Well, I think that at the moment one has to exert one's imagination pretty strenuously in order to reply to that question. Every unionist has a model of his own and as a member of the teachers' union, Nauka, I could say that I'm not going to bother myself about other unionists, but since we are dealing with research on the trade unions, from the scientific point of view one can have a concern with the future unions. One might say that these unions must surely be based on several principles which are hard to implement but which are essential as a certain pattern for the activity of the unions in the socialist system. First, they ought to be unions which represent the interests of the employees with regard to the employers. Second, they must be unions which observe the legal and political order in this country. In view of this they must also recognize the leading role of the PZPR as the leading force in this political system in which we live.

[Question] Despite the fact that they will bear the names independent and self-managing? How can one reconcile that?

[Answer] Well, the independence of the union movement -- at least of that which is the subject of reflections by Marxists -- has for a long time been understood as independence of the state apparatus. And self-management has been understood -- not just since the time of the old trade unions, but also since the birth of Solidarity, following the strikes in Gdansk and Szczecin -- as self-management within the trade union.

(?One has) always dreamed of a powerful socialist state and self-managing trade unions. That is probably not everybody's dream, but let us suppose that at the present moment such a dream is a thing that can be recognized as a current in thought and action. I can say that in a certain sense these things can be reconciled, since our society requires a stronge state -- in the economic, political and international sense -- and this dream has been in a process of realization for years.

As far as the trade unions go I would say that they ought to be strong, if only because they have never been strong: They were a kind of marginal institution in our political system despite the large-scale participation in the [word indistinct] trade unions -- almost everyone who worked belonged to a trade union, with the indicator varying between 93 to 98 percent as regards so-called unionization.

So we also ought to concern orselves once more with strong unions, for the interests of the employees, and especially the workers.

[Question] Would you state how the unions ought to function? What requirements should they meet? How do you picture the organizational structure?

[Answer] This is a question which is perturbing people at the moment. Once again I would have to say: Let us ask the unionists, even those who are suspended at the moment; one could simply ask them in private. Or let us ask the experts, who would say: There may be different models -- this one and that one. Or to put it in normal languages: There may be various means of organizing the union movement as a certain totality for about 15 million members who formally belong to Polish trade unions at the moment.

First, one may picture a very old model, based on the existence of a single association with a large number of little unions inside it. That was how things were once, but it did not fulfill the hopes of the workers and other trade unionists, which is why this model is a possible one, but is hardly probable. The second model would be based on transforming the three trade union associations in existence at the moment -- that is, the Autonomous, the Industrial and Solidarity. Respecting the principles of which I spoke (?before), this model has more probability of coming about than the first.

The third model may even be quite surprising: That will simply have a very large number of unions in Poland following martial law which will be organized on a branch principle, that is not local, but according to the principle of professions. That is, the principle would be that these are unions constituted according to a division of the economy into branches and would, I would say, correspond to the existing division of the economic administration into ministries rather than to the division of the state into voivodships and regions.

[Question] One often hears the thesis that regionalism in trade unions leads to the unions ceasing to be unions and becoming a social, a political, movement.

[Answer] Traditionally, the trade unions in Poland had a dual organization principle: the principle of production, later called the branch principle that is according to enterprises and branches; and the local principle, that is on the level of administrative districts or later on that of the voivodships -- either large or small. It depends on the period that there were (?corresponding voivodship councils) of the trade unions.

During the time of Solidarity the organization of the unions was tilted, as it were, toward regionalism, probably simply for political reasons. It seems to me that this was a kind of deviation from the traditional functioning of the trade union in a branch system, and there is a great probability that the model according to professional and branch divisions will be restored, if only because the trade unions' partner was always the economic administration and not the local administration. The local administration is simply weaker; it hasn't got the resources and it does not conclude collective contracts, whereas on the other hand the ministers are partners to good unions and ought to conclude collective contracts, for that is the form of the future activity of the trade unions.

[Question] The future activity of the trade unions -- in one model or another, such as those we have spoken of during our conversation....when can one expect this union movement to begin daily activity on this scale, and how will the social commissions functioning at the moment in the enterprises fit in?

[Answer] It seems to me that this is the beginning of a great debate on this subject. The restoration of the Committee for Trade Union Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers sees that it is assuming weight. It seems to me that the social commissions are essential and at the moment are positive, but one cannot imagine the restoration of the trade unions occurring through a once-and-for-all decision by the Sejm, the government or the other organs that are governing at the moment. But it may for example be done selectively: that is, the activity of the trade unions, for example, will begin on the plant level and the plant commissions, and that the plant councils will find it possible to act again, while the whole upper reaches of a union will for the moment remain suspended.

WESTERN VIEWS OF OPERATION 'CALM' REJECTED

PAP Comments

LD191546 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 19 Feb 82

["U.S. Hysterical Reaction To Operation 'Calm' in Poland" -- PAP headline; by PAP journalist (no name supplied)]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Feb (PAP) -- Results of the operation "calm" conducted in Poland by ORMO (militia volunteer reserve) and MO (Citizens' Militia) have been reported by a majority of stern news agencies which, in general, limited themselves to stating facts, statistical figures, etc.

In some cases, to mention AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, it was suggested that the action was meant to remind Polish citizens that the martial law decisions have to be strictly observed.

However, what has been a piece of news for journalists, has become for representatives of the U.S. Government an occasion for hysterical hand-wringing and other similar propaganda gestures.

For instance, the U.S. State Department spokesman Dean Fischer described operation"calm" as an example of "increased repression" and as "deeply upsetting".

The question comes to mind what it was that upset the spokesman more: suits filed at misdemeanour courts against persons who violated the decisions of the martial law decree -- i.e. the law (tough but necessary) binding in sovereign Poland -- or the fact that operation "calm" revealed a number of offences, such as profiteering, moonshine dens, robberies and burglaries.

Warsaw TV

LD192028 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] On 13 February, an explosive device was planted in a gasoline station in Lubin, Legnica Voivodship. Only the coolness and courage of an employee there prevented an explosion, the results of which are hard to imagine. On 15 February, a 22-year-old Dolmel employee met his death in a workers hostel in Wroclaw. He was killed when an explosive device he was holding went off, and to this day we do not know what he was doing with it. On 16 February, an attack was made on a Polish Army soldier in Warsaw. His pistol and ammunition were taken from him. Yesterday, in Warsaw, in the middle of the day, an attack was made on a uniformed militia official in a tram full of passengers, and he was seriously injured. We do not yet know all the circumstances of this incident but everything points to it having been a carefully prepared attempted murder, carried out in cold blood, in broad daylight, in a busy street, in front of terrified people.

In statements by many Western politicians and in the reports and commentaries of the Western mass media, more and more frequently opinions expressing hypocritical concern about the worsening situation in Poland can be seen.

Even the ordinary, routine activities of the forces of law and order are being treated as mass acts of repression. The nationwide operation, carried out last Saturday and Sunday by the militia and ORMO [Civic Militia Voluntary Reserve]. An operation under the significant code-name calm, an operation like many carried out in previous years, aimed at criminal elements and crime-prone milieux, has been presented as the next wave of arrests and repression. The tendentious interpretation of the results of this operation, which have in fact been printed in our press, seek to prove the thesis on the increase in terror on the part of the authorities. At the same time, from these same sources flow appeals and calls, expressed outright or cunningly masked, for opposition to the authorities, for boycotting their decrees and for nonobservance of the law. The authors of these appeals and calls are not worried about their results: they only affect us, and not them. The report on the bomb planted in Lubin; on the tragic death of a young worker in Wroclaw or about the attack on the militiaman in Warsaw are dealt with in the Western press in laconic items or just passed over in silence, as if there were no link between those incidents and the anti-Polish propaganda campaign in the West; a campaign which fans the tension in our country, which artificially raises the political temperature and does not remain without influence on the minds and emotions of many people, particularly young people. The bomb attempts, the attacks and the shooting in city streets are events which shock our society. Up to now, we had no experience of them. The sinister word terrorism has no corresponding concept in our consciousness, in our culture, in our customs or in our traditions. It would be worthwhile if this were reflected, especially by all those whose political obduracy obscures the picture of reality. It would also be worthwhile for us to reflect on the price we will have to pay if we do not succeed in stopping those people, for whom political ambitions are more important than the interests of the country, of society and of all of us.

'ILLEGAL' YOUTH ORGANIZATION UNCOVERED IN TORUN

LD201416 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] The voivodship command of the Citizens' Militia in Torun, cooperating with the Bydgoszcz garrison prosecutor's office and the Brodnica station, has uncovered an illegal youth organization, bearing the name "Union of Struggle for Independence" active in Brodnica.

Its activities consisted in distributing of slogans of antistate and anti-Soviet content. This was being done with the aid of posters and leaflets.

At the same time, the current state and party slogans were being destroyed.

The case of members of the "Union of Struggle for Independence" will be examined, under the summary procedure, by a military court.

JERZY URBAN APOLOGIZES FOR 'MISUNDERSTANDING'

LD192220 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Opening statement made by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the 19 February news conference held at the "Government Press Office" in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] The second [as heard] question is as follows: Mr Jan (Kukracz) writes: The government spokesman's use of the phrase "the government will find enough food to live on but the nation is in a more difficult situation" offends the dignity of society. I would like to wish the spokesman greater modesty.

I also have a card here from Mr Waclaw Kaminski. He writes: The government press spokesman said on television that stopping the United States' food supplies to Poland only hits the population, because the government will survive anyway.

Mr Kaminski asks: How can one allow the government press spokesman to sow such hostile antigovernment propaganda? Standing in lines one hears abuse addressed at our government all the time: They don't stand in the lines; they don't need ration cards and so on.

Mrs Wladyslawa Wloczewska from Warsaw-Ursus writes in a similar vein: The remark Mr Urban made during his television statement that the government will always find some food to live on was tactless. We are only too aware of this fact; a good many discussions on the subject take place in lines outside shops.

It is obvious that a certain misunderstanding has occurred. It is my fault and I am very sorry. I would like to apologize for it. Indeed, I used an expression which was imprecise and I failed to convey my own thoughts at the time. Naturally my clumsy phrase to the effect that the government will somehow find food to live on was not intended to convey the impression that the government would provide itself with some additional food allocations, because such allocations simply do not exist. On the other hand, I wanted to say something else; that is, that there is no food problem in Poland which would involve scores of people -- the number of people in the government -- but there are difficulties with the feeding 36 million people on an adequate scale. The U.S. Government says that the so-called sanctions, which mainly consist of stopping credits for the sale of foodstuffs to Poland, should allegedly hit only the Polish Government. This is a manifestation of great hypocrisy on the part of the United States Government because the American sanctions hit the entire Polish population and affect every family, not only the government. This is the idea I wanted to convey. In the process of abbreviating this expression, I worded it clumsily.

HUPALOWSKI EXPLAINS 'STREAMLINING' PLANS

News Conference Remarks

LD200110 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1915 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Remarks made by Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski, minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection on 19 February at a news conference held at the 'Government Press Office' in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, I am very pleased to be able to participate in today's news conference on the functioning of the state administration, a conference which is devoted simply to the problems of local administration and is held under the supervision of Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection.

The position of the state administration and the position of employees working in its system have not been adequately appreciated. The needs and the problems of the employees in the administration system -- even if one narrows them down only to matters pertaining to wages and social issues -- have not always been treated in the proper way. For these reasons a state employee's job has not always been popular and young and gifted people, people with vigor and creativity, people with initiative, have not wanted to work in this profession.

The government has decided that it is necessary to correct this situation in this important section of the state system, especially in view of the social and economic changes which are taking place and in connection with the entire complex of proposals related to the reform of state management. Therefore, a bill on state employees has been drafted. The bill concerns the state civil service in which labor relations are based on commissioning, appointments and work contracts, and involves employees of supreme, central and regional organs of state administration from the ministerial level to employees of rural community offices, especially employees who obtain their jobs through appointment.

It is the state official's duty to act quickly, impartially and thoroughly in order to settle the citizens' affairs. An official of the state administrative office should behave with dignity both on and off duty; should observe the principles of the people's law and order; and should be guided by a sense of social justice, the interest of the state and the principles of the coexistence of citizens. Before assuming his duties, he is obliged to present a written oath declaring that he will remain loyal to the Polish Peoples Republic as a socialist state and that he will treat his work as a public service for the good of the state and its citizens.

If the employees' duties are infringed upon or his professional dignity offended, the state employee bears regulatory disciplinary responsibility. The employee will also be obliged to make a statement on his financial situation. The bill envisages that the increased powers should be matched, regardless of the obligatory benefits, by an appropriate salary implemented in the form of financial grading, and promotions appropriate to the qualifications. The general principle that is aimed at is for the level of pay for the state administration not to rise more slowly than the average wage of employees in socialized economy units.

Before these new regulations come into force, a thorough review of the cadres of the state administration will be carried out. This review should strengthen the position of employees who are honest and sensible, give full opportunity to young people and eliminate uncertain [przypadkowy] people. It should increase the sense of responsibility among all the personnel of the state administration system to improve the standard of work in each office and to settle people's problems in a better and more efficient way in accordance with the law and social justice.

This review began somewhat earlier in the local administration than elsewhere. I will give an example: As a result of the cadre assessment made in January, 110 changes have been made in executive posts. The changes apply to voivodas, deputy voivodas, department heads, mayors and deputy chief parish officers. People were dismissed in 42 cases because of improper execution of their tasks. Penal proceedings have been instigated in seven cases against people who abused their positions.

We have started to compile the ethical code that the chairman of the Council of Ministers announced in a speech. This will be a special collection of principles which should be observed by and with which the state civil service employees should identify. The labor relations of this group of people should be stabilized in this way; any change or dissolution would be admissable only as defined by the code. This will undoubtedly prevent [as heard] freedom in cadre decisions which unfortunately occurred in the not too distant past and were so painfully felt both by the administration itself and, primarily, by the citizens. It will consolidate the legal status of the basic administrative employees; (?it will promote) the interests of every basic employee. It will go halfway to meet the numerous demands put forward by the employees in this regard.

Work is currently in progress to hand over general and agricultural construction enterprises to [word indistinct] voivodship state administration groups. This process has already been completed in 15 voivodships. It is envisaged that the remaining enterprises will be handed over at the end of the first quarter. Until now, almost all communal enterprise were subordinate to local state administrative organs at the voivodship level. The supervision of some of them, including housing economy, and urban transport in large towns, will be done by the mayors and town clerks of the towns involved. The bill on people's councils, the draft of which is thefinal stages of compilation, will restore the powers of people's councils and basic level administration organs on matters which were concentrated at the voivodship level during the past decade. For example, mayors and town clerks could not simply execute their powers in the sphere of health protection, because the professional service was subordinate to voivodas and the financial resources were concentrated in the voivodship budget.

As a state administration organ, in turn, the voivoda, mayor and town clerk exercise powers linked with issuing administrative decisions concerning individual citizens' affairs. Ladies and gentlemen, the planned measures by the government are intended to set in order the functional and organizational structure of the state administration. At the same time, these measures are to create in the public consciousness the conviction that there are tasks, the implementation of which lies with the local state administrative authorities and not an abstract state. There are also tasks for which other organizations are responsible: cooperative or social; and there are finally tasks and problems, the solution of which lies with the supreme organs of authority and the state administration.

[Urban] Thank you, General Hupalowski. Any questions, please?

[Journalist] One thing interests me; what about this financial declaration. Will this be binding on all administrative employees or just people in executive posts?

[Hupalowski] I would like to add that insofar [word indistinct] the legal form, [word indistinct] is nothing new, it has a certain significance beyond the legal realm. The main thing here is the executive level of employees. This regulation manifests the intention that every person who undertakes to perform an important public office should define his financial position so that the moment he leaves that office of (?loses) it, it would be possible to check whether his possible enrichment or increased prosperity has justification in his remuneration, in his other sources of legal income.

Interviewed on Efficiency

LD192112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Interview with Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski, minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection on 19 February by unidentified reporter -- recorded; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Minister, during the news conference you spoke about two directions of action aimed at improving the efficiency of the administrative system -- the improvement in the quality of work and the increase in the responsibility for assigned tasks. How will these objectives be achieved?

[Answer] (?As I mentioned) these objectives will be pursued through the future bill on state employees and through the regulations covering its implementation. It is obvious that new regulations in themselves will not solve the problem. The new bill should provide the conditions and the incentives to encourage employees to do better work and to fulfill their duties more consciensiously. Two elements of the bill are noteworthy in this respect: the administrative application and the system of assessing qualifications. The application makes it possible to prepare people who are employed in the administrative system for the first time for the work they will do. In addition, an extensive system of employment training and other methods of increasing the employees' knowledge is being prepared. The assessment of qualifications will depend on the sum total of the results of each employee's work, taking into account both the negative and positive aspects of their work. Realizing that these results will form the ultimate assessment of the employee should adequately motivate an employee to make prudent decisions which will correspond with the interests of the citizens and the state.

The elements of this system cannot act automatically, they create increased demands on an employee while increasing the attraction of the profession in a material sense. They also guarantee the employee a lasting association with the office concerned, because a change or termination of employment can take place only in the isolated cases defined by the bill.

The thorough review of regional administrative personnel which is now in progress is the first step in initiating the increase in demands on and the responsibilities of an employee. The review should strengthen the position of honest and sensible employees, give full opportunity to the young and eliminate casual people. It should raise the feeling of responsibility among all of the personnel in the state administration system to improve each office's standard of work and to deal with citizens' problems in a better and more efficient way, a way which is in accordance with the law and is socially just.

[Question] Thank you very much for your statement.

SWIDNIK LIFTS RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED 11 FEB

LD191212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Feb 82

[Text] In connection with the improvement of the sociopolitical situation and the state of public security in Swidnik near Lublin, the additional rigors of martial law, which were introduced in this locality on 11 February, were lifted today.

So, in Swidnik -- as before -- the curfew is in force from 0000-0600 GMT, telephone communications have been restored; the ban on traveling in private cars has been lifted; and the ban on sales of petrol to owners of private vehicles has been lifted.

Also, artistic, cultural and sporting activity has been resumed.

RESTRICTIONS EASED ON TRAVEL ABROAD 22 FEB

LD191938 Warsaw PAP in English 1716 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Feb (PAP) -- In view of the further normalization of socio-political relations in Poland, the minister of internal affairs has agreed to expand, as of February 22, the principles of the exchanges of travellers with other states.

In this connection, the director of the Home Ministry's Passport Office, Col Waclaw Szarszewski told PAP's Adolf Reut:

"Following the proclamation of martial law the foreign visits by Polish citizens and the Polish visits by foreigners were largely restricted. That did not mean, however, that the Polish frontiers were completely sealed. Visits on business and in emergency family cases continued to take place. Since the proclamation of martial law, almost 2,000 passports have been issued for such visits. All foreigners who wished to leave Poland could do it without any problems.

"The travellers exchanges with the socialist countries will be taking place chiefly in the form of package tours and also individual tours which initially will be made to invitations from relatives or friends.

We, in the Home Ministry's Passport Office perceive no obstacles to the steady normalization of traveller exchanges with the friendly socialist countries.

"The present stage of the exchange, the trips of Polish citizens to those countries will be taking place exclusively on the passport basis. The previous ruling which enabled people to travel to six socialist countries on the basis of their personal identity cards is temporarily suspended and cannot be now used as the basis for crossing the border, except for the travels to Czechoslovakia by people who are employed there.

"Travel to the socialist countries will be now conditioned on the passport and the possession of an appropriate amount of currency of the countries of destination.

"1981 marked a record number of Polish citizens' trips to Western countries. In that year the passport organs issued more than 1,274,000 passports, or over 80 per cent more than in 1980.

"As of February 22, the possibilities of private visits to capitalist countries are partly expanded, to go beyond the emergency family cases.

"There will be no obstacles to the trips to capitalist countries by persons at an age beyond the employment age bracket, pensioners, disabled and other people incapable of work."

"But the mentioned groups of people will have to produce invitations from their families, relatives and friends, endorsed by Polish consular offices.

"Also family members of the persons officially delegated to work abroad will be given permission to go, if such a trip is envisaged in the contract signed with a delegating institution."

Answering the question about visits to Poland by (?persons) from the socialist countries and foreigners from capitalist countries, the passport office director stated that as regards the socialist countries "we are obviously raising no obstacles to the visits in Poland by citizens of those states. On the other hand, citizens from the remaining states may at present, if tourism is their purpose, arrive as part of package tours organized by the Polish travel agencies.

"There are preferences for visits by people of Polish ancestry.

"The holders of Polish consular passports, especially elderly pensioners, may pay individual visits to Poland to a much broader extent than so far," said the director.

WARSAW RADIO TO BROADCAST MASS TWICE MONTHLY

LD220022 [Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1700 GMT on 21 February announces that it is about to broadcast a mass prepared by the "Polish Ecumenical Council." The announcer goes on to say that "these programs are broadcast on the first and third Sunday of each month at 1800 [1700 GMT] in accordance with an agreement concluded between the Committee for Radio and Television and the 'Polish Ecumenical Council'."

This was followed by the broadcast of the mass "from the Polish-Catholic church" with the cathedral choir of the Holy Ghost parish in Warsaw.

The sermon, ready by Bishop Tadeusz Majewski, reviews the history of the Polish-Catholic Church and discusses the coming of Lent quoting and referring to various religious texts. The sermon lasted for 6 minutes of the 30-minute program.

WIEJACZ INTERVIEWED ON MADRID CSCE MEETING

LD212228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Interview by unidentified correspondent in Warsaw with Jozef Wiejacz, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representative at the Madrid CSCE meeting; date not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Wiejacz is in our studio. Minister, I would like to start by recalling that on the day of your departure to Madrid we spoke in this studio on the deliberations which you were about to attend. I must say that you were in a very pessimistic mood. I recall your statement issued by PAP, and of course by us too, saying that you were considering the possibility of the Polish delegation leaving the conference hall if there were attempts to make the Polish question the main subject of the Madrid conference. This did not happen. I suppose that this is also your achievement as chairman?

[Answer] Maybe it is not the right word [words indistinct] in pessimistic mood but [words indistinct]. I am concerned this is true. We knew that NATO countries were going to Madrid represented at a higher level than previously, at the level of foreign ministers, in order to raise the Polish question, to make this question subject number one. This was well known. This results from the stance adopted by the North Atlantic bloc and this was even officially announced in their statement. Indeed, there was an unequivocal instruction, binding for the Polish delegation and resulting from the speech made by Premier Jaruzelski to the Sejm, that Poland would not take part in any conference which would be something of a tribunal judging Poland. Nobody has any right to judge another country's internal situation. This is not a subject for an international conference; it should not be. We could not allow this session to be transformed into a special session devoted to Poland and if this were to succeed we would indeed have to leave the meeting.

After all, as a country which is one of the initiators of the whole CSCE process, it would simply be [words indistinct], for such a country to be forced to leave. Secretary Haig had a clear purpose, about which he spoke: to come for a short time, make his speech, permit the NATO states' speeches to be made knonw; and to disperse, to scatter the meeting.

[Question indistinct]

[Answer] That is laying the responsibility on us, Poland and other socialist countries. It is in this context that one must see what happened in Madrid on 9 February. Poland was chairing the session. The Polish delegation, functioning in any case as an institution and [words indistinct], had to observe scrupulously the decisions previously agreed on and the procedural principles. If we had broken or infringed [words indistinct], let us imagine what an uproar there would have been in the world, because of some sort of manipulation, some sort of [words indistinct]. Proof of our constructive approach and desire for compromise was this: that a list of speakers was drawn up; observing the sequence of applications, both here in Warsaw and there in Madrid; as a result, the speakers came from different countries, not only from the North Atlantic bloc, but also representatives of the socialist and neutral (?countries) also made speeches. So, that is the first proof, I would say, of the honest approach by Poland as chairman of the conference. [Words indistinct] it is not our fault that there was no consensus, on the issue of (?drawing out) the session until the end of the list of speakers, for there was no such consensus; and the chairman [words indistinct] what he did: for lack of consensus, to close the session. Of course, this caused a great storm and procedural discussion; let us say openly, formally procedural, because a political intention was concealed there, of course, to (?make) a judgment on Poland. It was just for that reason that the ministers came; (?that was) what they wanted to say. It is of course understandable that afterwards [word indistinct] some of the Western press were inspired by various delegations to write unfavorably about us, Poland; that we had put obstacles in the way of their speeches.

[Question] When we read the world press, much [word indistinct] written already about the press [word indistinct] of the Polish delegation; and it turns out that journalists do not know much about out internal problems.

[Answer] Well, [words indistinct] understand even the journalists, who do not have to know the procedural principles, whether (?there is) a concensus and how one can (?change) the consensus, but why do some delegations in this way present accusations before they leave that the Polish delegation manipulated them?

We did not manipulate: quite the opposite, we complied very strictly with the (?procedural) principles. It should be strongly stressed here, especially for all those who read all kinds of fantastic things about the Polish delegation -- about manipulation, that we were shutting minister's mouths -- (?but) there was no tendency like that; we strictly defended the achievement of the (?whole) conference, that every decision can only be made [words indistinct].

We had all kinds of press conferences, two large ones, and, of course, ad hoc, smaller ones, and this met with great interest. Of course, I do not know all the reports from the world press on this subject, but from what I have read, most of these reports were objective, objectively presenting those assessments which I passed there. I think that was also an important part of our activity, (?important, of course) because there still are many false images in the world about the situation in Poland, fabricated information; frequently people succumb to it, believe it, and this destroys this magnificent [word indistinct] thing -- friendship between nations, of course. That is why this, this sphere of information is also such an important thing.

[Question] Minister, can it be said on the basis of Madrid, on your experiences from the last dozen or so days, that Reagan has succeeded in achieving unity of the North Atlantic (?Treaty)?

[Answer] I have familiarized myself in detail with the speeches delivered in Madrid; I saw great differences in approach, from treating Poland as an instrument, which is very evident especially in the American position, which [word indistinct] at the Soviet Union first of all, and looks at how to win Polish issues here, against the Soviet Union, to balanced stands of various states, including smaller NATO states, which by no means want to go along the U.S. line where economic sanctions are concerned.

France, too, is against it and [word indistinct] as well as much smaller countries -- members of NATO -- which, like ourselves, are very concerned by the direction Europe is going in conditions of continued tension.

[Question] You said at the beginning that Poland was extremely interested in the talks in Madrid [words indistinct] and, in this respect, of significance were the words of Herbert Wehner, the well-known West German politician who is currently visiting Poland, when he stated that he realized the role of Poland in the process of detente: He said that Poland plays an enormous role in the process of detente and that Poland must play this role.

[Answer] It is difficult to imagine any peaceful and cooperative Europe without the role of Poland, and an active role at that, despite the fact and, perhaps, precisely because of the fact that the situation in Poland is complicated and must not [words indistinct]. I am convinced, of course, that the constructive tendency will gain the upper hand in the end: It is too early to forecast whether this happens during the present meeting in Madrid or at some later stage.

[Question] In other words the scenario of the American [word indistinct] is seriously threatened?

[Answer] On one point it has already been completely destroyed: The attempt to wreck the Madrid meeting failed. The meeting is continuing and although there are clashes between concepts it can be said that the development of the proceedings shows that the constructive tendency is gaining strength.

JERZY URBANSKI VIEWS PARTY CONSOLIDATION

AU191725 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission: "Conditions for Consolidating the Party"]

[Excerpts] The 2-month period of martial law has made it possible to see with unprecedented clarity the enormity of the tasks awaiting the party. The further fate of socialism in Poland depends on correctly drawing up those taks and, particularly, on effectively implementing them, which imposes a historic responsiblity on the PZPR vis-a-vis the country and all the people. It is an undisputed fact that those enormous and complicated tasks will be implemented only by a party that is genuinely consolidated with regard to ideology, policy and organization, and that will lay down a program meeting the people's aspirations and tapping the necessary social militancy to implement this program.

However, let us pose two important questions: Along what lines and with the help of what methods will we be able to truly consolidate the party? What is it that is most hindering this true consolidation?

I think that one principle is that there can be no return to the situation that existed in our country before 13 December 1981; that is, tolerating the anarchy and license of the antisocialist and outright counterrevolutionary elements. Nor can there be any return to the situation before August 1981; that is, to voluntarism produced by opprotunistic daydreams, to the bureaucratic and autocratic methods of state government and to tolerating the violations of the principles of socialist ethics and morality.

It is important to reinforce the above statements by clearly detailing what socialist renewal, of which our party wants to remain the most consistent champion, means to us. Without beating about the bush, socialist renewal means to us a return to the consistent observation of the universal principles of socialism enriched by the practical knowledge of the countries of real socialism and rooted in Polish traditions and national specifics, as well as in our country's level of production forces and our people's sociopolitical awareness.

What hinders the party's consolidation is negating the 37 years of People's Poland, which our political adversaries are doing. It is unfortunate that at times they find keen adherents among the obvious backsliders within the ranks of our own party. The truth is that the past years have not been just an unending panorama of errors and even tragic mistakes. Any human being who is objective to some extent and is not prejudiced will see that, which means that we must not accept a caricatured, distorted and impoverished presentation of Poland's most recent history. Otherwise -- despite obvious facts -- we will voluntarily surrender a crucial part of our own genealogy, one that is decidedly socially useful. Surrendering to opportunist illusions or to narrow dogmatic-sectarian prejudices certainly hinders our party's consolidation.

Chasing new things and ideas, the ideological dandies -- usually the opportunists and revisionists -- are ready to sacrifice even the very principles of socialism. Very often ignoring what is universal and permanent in socialism, they give excessive priority to what is different and specific in a given country. Their activities threaten the party with ideological neutralism and, in extreme cases, with the loss of its Marxist-Leninist identity.

The party's true consolidation can be achieved by consistently overcoming two ideological tendencies: opportunism and revisionism, which are bearers of chaos, political-ideological disorientation and, consequently, of a real danger of reducing the militancy that the PZPR needs so much in its present activities; and dogmatic-sectarian views and attitudes, which objectively help push the party to social and political isolation extremely dangerous in its results.

The party's true consolidation can be achieved by thoroughly observing the Leninist norms of party life, including in particular the principles of democratic centralism. We will not be able to consolidate party ranks if we tolerate the practice of questioning those principles and norms, or if we close our eyes to firebrand activities.

The differences in views and attitudes within a Marxist-Leninist party have their limits and can involve tactical and not strategic issues. In no case can they undermine the party's program and principles. Let us have no illusions on this score: If we differ on basic questions we will never be able to really achieve the united activity and true consolidation of the party.

People generally expect that socialism will primarily fulfill the age-old and perhaps somewhat utopian dreams of mankind about genuine social equality and true democracy. Having rejected what is unambiguously utopian in such dreams, socialism must never put such expectations in abeyance.

The measures taken with a view to resolutely purge the party of people who in the recent past violated the principles of socialist ethics and morality are also a crucial element in party consolidation. Of course, we must not treat as a seasonal campaign activities to consistently purge the party of people who are corrupted and abuse their positions for personal gain. I want to stress this with the utmost force.

Bearing in mind the party's true consolidation, it is now more than ever necessary to focus attention on the issues directly connected with the Marxist-Leninist unambiguity and ideological purity of PZPR ranks, committing to this purpose all our present intellectual and organizational reserves.

Revisionist tendencies, nationalist ballast and inclination to surrender are now probably the greatest danger to the party. The same is true of all those who, interpreting democracy in any way they like, want to render the party helpless at a time when it is collecting itself to lead the country out of its socioeconomic crisis. Equally dangerous, to me, are the neobacksliders who -- while the open struggle against the enemies of socialism is not over in our country -- would like to sign as soon as possible a typical "truce", unmindful of the fact that the political adversary will take a long time to lay down arms. At the same time, we must not even for a moment lose sight of the need to constantly combat the manifestations of sectarianism and the ossified dogmatism of the extreme leftwing adventures.

I think that we should continue the process of party purge above all in line with two basic principles: We should consistently eliminate from party ranks people who for ideological and political reasons have proved unworthy of being members of the Marxist-Leninist party and, at the same time, we must be patient in winning back those who have simply erred in their political evaluations, but have been guided by noble motives or have partially succumbed to the pressure of their millieus or have been quite normally lost in the thickets of the dramatic events in this country in the past few months. But those who have disappointed us for low mercenary motives and out of the baseness of their character must never be forgiven. We must get rid of them, not necessarily in anger.

I believe that the party will overcome all its difficulties by rallying its ranks on the basis of a uniform interpretation of its ideological and organizational principles and by consistently implementing the tasks laid down in its resolutions. That way the party will confirm in theory as well as in practice that serving the workers class and the people is its supreme goal.

PZPR LECTURERS DISCUSS TRADE UNIONISM'S FUTURE

AU191704 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 82 p 2

[PAP report: "The Future of Trade Unionism -- Lecturers Meet at the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] Central Committee and voivodship committee lecturers met on the premises of the PZPR Central Committee on 15 February to discuss the future of trade unionism in Poland. Valery Namiotkiewicz, head of the Central Committee Ideological Department, was in the chair.

The discussion was opened by reports on the Leninist concept of trade unions, read by Jerzy Kamieniecki, chief editor of the party monthly IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA; Prof Leszek Gilejko, head of the Center of Socioeconomic Policy of the Institute of the Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism; and Prof Kazimierz Doktor, head of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. They presented a reconstruction of the Leninist treatment of the place, role and tasks of the trade union movement in the political system of socialism, and stressed that the implementation of this system is an invariable aim of every Marxist-Leninist party.

Discussing in detail the Leninist model of the functioning of trade unions in the socialist system, the aforementioned figures stressed the need for the trade unions' political unity, which results from the community of the basic interests of the workers class and all the working people. They also extensively discussed V. Lenin's concept of the relationship between the trade union movement and the communist party, which is the guiding force of socialist construction, and explained the basic assumptions of the Leninist theory of trade unions, including their autonomy vis-a-vis the state's administrative apparatus, their internal independence and so on.

Next, the figures in question stressed in particular the principles of the trade unions' shared responsibility for the direction and rate of socialist changes, and presented the experience of V. Lenin's ideological-political struggle against the erroneous sectarian-dogmatic concepts aimed at "nationalizing," that is, subordinating trade unions to state administration, and against the anarchic-syndicalist trends aimed at turning the state into a typical trade union domain.

The figures in question replied to questions from the floor and discussed statements made by the participants in the meeting.

Next, Prof Wlodzimierz Berutowicz, first chairman of the Supreme Court, reported on the origins and basic content of the draft trade union law, which is being processed by the Sejm. Prof. W. Berutowicz's information was reinforced by Jan Brol. who had been secretary of the team appointed by the State Council to draft the law in question and had worked in the team from the very beginning. The two figures discussed the procedures the draft law has to undergo, and detailed the solutions adopted by it. Special attention was given to disputed points and those requiring further treatment.

Next to speak was Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs, who reported on the present state of the discussions concerning the future of trade unionism in Poland. He stressed that the future of trade unions was already being determined by production enterprises. The trade union movement will adopt the forms that will be produced by the workers class and the working people. He also stressed the importance of the community of the basic interests of the workers class and the working people, and examined the reasons for and against an organizational plurality of trade unionism.

S. Ciosek pointed out that we must have an extensive and genuine discussion on the future of the trade union movement, outlined the most important requirements and postulates posed by the government for trade unions, and stressed the need for an effective political device to ensure a harmonious existence of the socialist states side by side with self-governing trade unionism.

The session's themes stimulated great interest and discussion among lecturers, who, while exchanging views, articulated the opinions and postulates they encounter in their production enterprises and, especially, party organizations. Minister S. Ciosek replied to questions and statements from the floor. Exchanges of views about the future of trade unions in Poland will continue.

REPORTAGE ON ACTIVITIES OF PZPR LEADERSHIP

Olszowski Chairs Session

LD191920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee held a session.

Marian Orzechowski, Central Committee secretary, presented a paper on the ideological, program and organizational assumptions of the celebrations of the centenary of the Polish workers' movement. Referring to the resolution of the ninth extraordinary party congress, he accentuated in particular the main ideas that will be the guiding principle for the program of undertakings which are envisaged.

He stressed that the history of the Polish workers' movement constitutes an integral part of the most recent history of our nation. He also pointed out the necessity of irradiating the whole ideological work of the party with ideological values which are contained in the century-long tradition of the Polish workers' movement.

During the discussion, particular attention was drawn to the significance of popularizing the ideological and theoretical achievement of the Polish workers' movement for shaping the attitudes of contemporary Poles, and especially of the younger generation. The exchange of views also related to forms and methods of disseminating the ideological traditions in all their richness and complexity. The Ideological Commission recommended that the program assumptions for the celebrations of the centenary of the Polish workers' movement be presented to the party leadership.

The commission discussed the problems of the struggle against anti-Socialist influences in the public consciousness. Jerzy Majka, head of the Information Section of the Central Committee, presented proposals for undertakings aimed at eliminating the effects of the destructive influence of opponents of scoialism on the awareness and attitudes of various sectors. During the discussion it was demonstrated through specific examples that the anticommunist forces did not hesitate to exploit in a manipulative fashion the patriotic feelings in society, especially of the young. They consciously aimed at contaminating the patriotism of Poles with nationalism and chauvinism. At the same time, they tried to reinstitute in the social consciousness the views of the old ownership classes by propagating a subservient attitude to the capitalist West. The opponents of socialism, by means of a tendentious distortion of the modern history of our country and also through the organized incessant strikes, questioned the sense of socially-organized work. It was stressed that the antisocialist groupings inoculated a false social consciouness most strongly with the youth, and primarily among schoolchildren and students.

In the course of the session, the political situation and the moods prevailing in creative sectors, in the social sciences and in education were referred to.

Siwak Meets Turek Aktivs

LD192250 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2148 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] In Turek, in Konin Voivodship, Albin Siwak, member of the party Central Committee Politburo, met the workers' aktiv of local work enterprises. Albin Siwak discussed the situation in the country and matters connected with the renewal of the union movement.

Milewski Speaks at Olsztyn

AU191517 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 15 February party voivodship committee meeting in Olsztyn]

[Text] M. Milewski said in particular that the introduction of martial law should not be regarded as an event which will solve the existing problems in the country by itself. The key to solving these problems likes in intensive party activity and the demonstration of this activity by daily work, since the party is the guiding force in this situation and without it the state cannot be administered. We must constantly base ourselves on the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress, which are enriched with the decisions -- including economic ones -- made by the Military Council of National Salvation. The basic task of the party, M. Milewski stressed, continues to be to regain authority and worthiness by means of direct contact and talks with the community, to make words and deeds conform, to eliminate unfavorable social phenomena such as red tape, parasitism, alcoholism and so on, and to take care that party activity is unified.

Messner Attends Award Ceremony

LD191648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] In connection with the 36th anniversary of setting up the Citizens Militia Voluntary Reserve [ORMO], decorations were conferred on a group of the most merited members of this organization from this region in the voivodship office in Katowice. They received gold, silver and bronze decorations for persons with merit for the development of the Katowice Voivodship, as well as ministerial and special ORMO decorations.

The ceremony was attended by Prof Zbigniew Messner Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Katowice Voivodship and Katowice Voivoda Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski.

Orzechowski Meets Youth Group

LD200846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has had a meeting with representatives of the leadership of the Communist Union of Polish Youth, who outlined the basic problems of their activities so far and their programmatic and organizational intentions.

PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF OCEANLINES WORKERS MEET

LD201424 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia, 20 Feb (PAP) -- Already this year's third round of party meetings is taking place in the party organization of the Polish Ocean Lines -- the largest PZPR organization in Gdansk Voivodship. Apart from representatives of the works' committees and employees, the representatives of the navy are also taking part in these meetings. Tasks for party organizations arising from Premier Jaruzelski's speech made during the Sejm session on 25 January are being discussed. Recently meetings have been held at the following Polish vessels in ports: Rybnik, Skoczow, Wyspianski, Heweliusz, Zyrardow, Lechistan II, Antoni Garnuszewski as well as in the primary party organizations on vessels belonging to Asian, Australian, African, Mediterranean and container lines.

An open meeting of the Polish Ocean Lines Union of Socialist Polish Youth Organization was held on 11 February and was devoted to similar topics. Taking part were Capt Z.W. Borowski, alternate member of the PZPR Central Committee and Sowinski, secretary of the Works' Committee. The party organization plans to hold further meetings and training sessions devoted to the subject of creating conditions for the propitious development of the country and consolidation of the party ranks and of party's activities during the state of martial law. For instance, on 26 February there will be a meeting between captains and secretaries of the vessels' party organizations on the one hand and a representative of the Navy's Political Directorate and the Management and Works Committee of the PZPR in the Polish Ocean Lines on the other.

PARTY, SOLIDARITY OFFICIALS', WORKERS' VIEWS

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["Which Way Next?" Program presented by Gabor Nemes; compilation of interviews conducted in Poland including Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo members Albin Siwak and Jan Labecki, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marion Wozniak, Solidarity members, workers and others; Polish interviewees' remarks recorded in Polish fading to Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Nemes] Which way next? This is what people in Poland are now asking themselves and each other, in the factories, in their family circle, at the stormy membership meetings and inside the closed trade union offices. While life is perceptibly becoming normalized, while tension is lessening, there are slow and painful processes under way in peoples' souls, in their consciousness.

[Andrzej Howak, brigade leader of the Ursus tractor factory] The state of emergency? Well, our acquaintances and the family expected something like this to happen, that is, that there would come some sort of shock that would change the situation. The situation was simply unbearable.

[Unidentified Ursus factory worker] Well, the state of emergency is not very pleasant here. It is a little better now but it used to be worse.

[Unidentified Ursus factory worker] What is the atmosphere like here in the factory? You can imagine! In this state of emergency it is hardly surprising if the atmosphere is not what one would like it to be. But this is precisely why the state of emergency was introduced. There are no great problems in production itself. The tractors are being produced, in two shifts every day, with each shift producing 200 tractors. It is the factories delivering to us which hold us back because we do not receive the necessary components. If we could receive the necessary components, if other factories did not handicap our work, there would be no problem with production here.

[Zenon Brezina, Solidarity chairman at the Wola dairy plant] I hold the same view as the majority: This should not have come about. Quite simply, the Solidarity leadership and the government should have reached agreement, so that the state of emergency should not have come about. After all, this does mean setting limits on the citizens' rights to freedom, and in any case [sentence uncompleted]....

[Nemes] In your opinion, is the leadership of Solidarity also at fault?

[Brezina] You know, personally I think there were many among them who wanted to do good. However, I am sure there must have been many troublemakers and agitators among them as well.

[Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, president of the Peasant Party] We evaluate the introduction of the state of emergency as an unavoidable, and at the same time, a necessary step. This measure was forced on us by the extremist members of Solidarity. Solidarity was born in August 1980 as the workers' protest against the distortions at that time. In the meantime, however, because of the extremist, destructive elements in Solidarity, this protest turned against the entire existing socialist order. What is more, eventually it turned into a struggle for power.

[Witold Switalski, member of the Mazowsze regional Solidarity leadership] At present, the available documents and materials which are officially shown on television and so on indicate that Solidarity's activities evoked, could evoke, many reservations (?in those holding power). Solidarity should not have permitted the present situation to come about -- that authority should be forced to take such a step -- in other words, that it should introduce the state of emergency and bring in many measures which are to be regretted from the point of view of society.

[Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski] First of all, the most important problem -- that represented by growing anarchy -- has been resolved; in other words, the constant strikes, the constantly flamed disquiet. This problem unquestionably has been solved by the state of emergency. In other words, it brought to an end these negative, very negative, phenomena which threatened the whole of Poland in the last months of last year. To use an analogy, the introduction of the state of emergency held back the runaway train which was rushing toward the precipice. This train was Poland. Thus, the fundamental danger, the danger of the destruction of the entire state apparatus, has indeed passed. In this sense it can be said that the state of emergency has attained its fundamental goal.

[Nemes] But what will happen about the social problems, the sociopolitical crisis?

[Rakowski] Yes, one must add to this that at the time of the introduction of the state of emergency we realized that the state of emergency itself, or rather taking the army into the streets and the drastic curtailment of the rights of citizenship for this period -- which, by the way, are now being restored -- could not solve any social problems, in other words, the economic reform, supplies, and social discipline. I speak about social discipline, not administrative discipline. Now all these burning social problems, which in their totality make it necessary to transform our social-economic structures, their modernization, well, these problems are lying on the table; they have come onto the agenda and we must start to solve them.

Naturally, solving these problems requires calm. We consider that for a while the state of emergency represents a protective umbrella for the calm but necessary process of transforming the structures. Quite simply, it is the state of emergency which has to defend those reform ideas, reform concepts, a great part of which, by the way, was already present in the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary party congress. In other words, there is nothing new in it when I speak about the transformation of structures.

[PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marion Wozniak] The program for overcoming the crisis is clear and we also know what must be done. At present, three areas enjoy absolute priority: agriculture, the production of energy and raw materials, and market supplies. However, within these three areas, because we entered 1982 in very difficult circumstances, we are even further sharpening the tasks, making them more precise. In other words, in agriculture we concentrate primarily on meat and grain; in the production of raw materials and energy sector we concentrate on coal and exportable raw materials, copper and [word indistinct] and in the supplies sector we concentrate on foodstuffs, children's clothing, pharmaceuticals and cleaning materials.

[Nemes] These priorities, these important tasks, do they indicate that there has been some sort of change in economic direction and that you are now turning toward agriculture, the food economy?

[Wozniak] Yes, yes. I must tell you that in 1981, as a result of the well-known situation, we were unable to carry out the effective reorganization of our economy; the economy was quite simply limping. At present, we are definitely first of all ensuring machinery, pesticides and artificial fertilizer for agriculture.

[Nemes] The Western boycott is not felt to any great extent yet at the Gdynia docks. Rather, the dock workers are hard at work, even on a free Saturday. There is sufficient coal and the customers in East and West alike take any quantity. It is another matter that the future of a number of Polish industrial export products, and thus also of several enterprises, is uncertain. Not only the external but also the internal conditions have changed. The economic reform, which was decided a long time ago, is to be realized.

Professor, which are the most important principles of the reform?

[Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy chairman of the Economic Reform Commission] The independence, self-management and self-financing of the enterprises.

[Nemes] What does this mean in practice?

[Sadowski] This means that we are breaking with the old mechanism based on plan directives. Now the enterprises will have to determine their own tasks by themselves. They will have to sign contracts with each other in order to implement their tasks.

[Nemes] How is it possible to carry out the reform in crisis circumstances, when there is no foreign currency, there are no raw materials, there are no normal economic relations?

[Sadowski] It will be very difficult. The limitations on us are very great indeed. However, this new mechanism must be introduced because this is the tool which can lead us out of the crisis, through giving incentives to the enterprises and to the workers.

[Nemes] Under the present circumstances, what proportion of the enterprises will face difficulties?

[Sadowski] It is difficult to answer this question because the new mechanism is sure to liberate the initiative of the enterprises. Nevertheless, we expect that a few, or rather quite a few, enterprises will have to be closed or that their production will have to be partially curtailed, not because of the reform but because of the economic situation.

[Nemes] Is there some sort of optimistic prognosis, some optimistic data?

[Sadowski] Unfortunately, this is not possible. Everything greatly depends on the political factors, on the sociopolitical factors and, unfortunately, on the external circumstances, the balance of payments as well, because the more the Western partners push us against the wall, the more difficult it is for us to get this mechanism under way. Thus, in the final analysis, the deadline depends on such factors.

[Nemes] Were you all Solidarity members?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] Ninety percent of us are. There are 18,000 people working in the shipyard, and of these 90 percent are Solidarity members.

[Nemes] Do you agree with all the political steps of Solidarity? Did you hear the extremists, for example Rulewski, speak?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] No, I did not hear him. Or, rather, I did hear him but that was broadcast by the government on the mass media. Then, you know, there are two groups inside Solidarity. I was always on the side of Lech Walesa and I continue to be on his side. I stress, therefore, that until they free Lech Walesa and he can come here to the shipyards, there can be no question of a reconciliation.

[Nemes] And the other group?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] The other group is of the more radical people, those who take a more decisive stance, who think that only civil war can improve the situation in Poland.

[Nemes] And if it depended on you, what sort of trade union would you like?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] A trade union which governs well is needed, so that things can be good in Poland.

[Nemes] The trade union should govern?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] No, not the trade union, just in general. The trade union only has to fight for the rights of the workers, is that not so? So that the worker should do as well as possible. It is not a matter of the trade union possessing power.

[Nemes] What should Solidarity fight for? You said you want the trade union to fight, but what for?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] Well, in general for improving work conditions, for higher wages and such matters.

[Nemes] Is that all?

[Unidentified Gdansk shipyard worker] Cheating and lying must be eliminated, because these are spreading. And how! Because everything depends on lying and connections. There was no one really responsible anywhere. This is how it was, at the bottom and at the top alike because there is collective leadership everywhere.

[Nemes] How long did you work this week?

[Unidentified worker] This week? We worked 6 days. Or, rather, 5 days because there was the free Saturday and Sunday. In other words, 5 days, but I would like to stress that, at present, for example, we have no work. They simply cannot give work to the majority of the people. We work piece rates and this shows in our incomes.

[Nemes] Why?

[Unidentified worker] Because there is no work preparation.

[Nemes] What is missing?

[Unidentified worker] First, there is a shortage of materials for ship building. It is difficult to specify. I only have a general school education; there are people here with higher qualifications whose business this is.

[Nemes] Is the situation like this only in your brigade or elsewhere as well?

[Unidentified worker] I do not know, but I suspect that this is more general. This is so not only in our brigade and our plant, but probably in the whole of the shipyard.

[Nemes] What are you going to do tomorrow? It is a free Sunday.

[Unidentified worker] I shall sit and think.

[Nemes] What about?

[Unidentified worker] About the future. Whether we shall survive to see the next week. Well, what should we do? There is no gasoline. We cannot travel anywhere. We just sit. One plays with the family, with the children; one studies a little. On Sunday we go to church and pray for those who have been interned, who have been arrested, for their early release.

[Nemes] Are there that many people interned or under arrest from this plant?

[Unidentified worker] Mr Editor, one cannot really know this because one cannot know anything here.

[Nemes] But what do you think -- how many?

[Unidentified worker] I don't know, I cannot work it out.

[Nemes] Do you know even one?

[Unidentified worker] Yes, I do know one.

[Nemes] From the brigade?

[Unidentified worker] No, the next brigade. I know of one, but we know nothing. They have simply disappeared. Not from the brigade, because there were no strong activists here.

[Nemes] Comrade Labecki, the shipyard is one of the country's biggest. It was also one of the centers of worker protests. What has to be done now under the new conditions to gain the trust of the workers?

[Jan Labecki, member of the PZPR Politburo and secretary of the PZPR committee of the Lenin shipyard] If I have to speak as Labecki and give a recipe for how we can gain trust, then I will simply say that everything has to be taken over that was announced after August 1980, and that everything that is good, that has to be realized. We have to accept it all as our own, as a party program, and we have to start putting it into effect. I speak as Labecki. I am aware that this is not so simple. But I know one thing. For us to regain this trust we will have to put in an extremely great amount of work. I think I can answer the question with these few short sentences, because a detailed reply would require a lot of time.

[Nemes] But in concrete terms, very unpopular steps now have to be taken. What will happen with trust now?

[Labecki] I think these are two different things, though they are very closely linked. Of course, one only has to put the fundamental question, which is perhaps even naive. If we assume that the social system in Poland had changed, what, one wonders, would the opposition do? It would have to take these same steps. There is no other solution. We have to gain trust in such a political, social, economic situation, in a situation such as the one in which we find ourselves. And these steps have to be taken in exactly the same way, no matter who -- I say this naively -- no matter who governs here. In my opinion this is so obvious that intelligent, sober people must understand it. But of course, some people always resist and do not want to accept this. This is certainly the case with the opposition.

[Nemes] If we are on the topic of the opposition, what about young people? Youth has been a very active creative element of Solidarity.

[Labecki] This is a problem. It is a task on which the party has to work, so that we may win these young people. We have to admit that in recent years young people have moved away from the party, because actions and words did not coincide. It was so at every step. Youth is very sensitive to that. Now we must take great care what we say. Once we have said something, then we must also see that it is put into effect. And we have to be aware how young people take all this. This is how we become trustworthy in their eyes. This is how we may gain trust. This is a fundamental concern. In the meantime we must also take into consideration the fact that young people look at all this through the prism of the economy, at the country's difficult situation, its terribly difficult situation, and at their own prospects. I think, rather I maintain, that these young people must be given prospects in housing construction, in social affairs and in their being able to fulfill themselves.

[Nemes] What kind of a trade union would you like to see?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Solidarity, a trade union that should fight for the workers, as indeed it has.

[Nemes] Together with the political activity that it has carried out?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] What political activity? I don't know about that. Even so, it should fight for the workers.

[Nemes] There is now a state of emergency. I know this is a difficult question, but, what do you think: Is the situation going to improve?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] It is difficult to say whether it is going to be better or worse. However, it looks like becoming worse.

[Nemes] What is needed to ensure that it improves?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] I don't know, but some joint agreement should be reached.

[Nemes] Who should be party to this agreement?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Well, society itself so that there is no longer a state of emergency because there is no agreement at all now.

[Nemes] Have there been any steps in the right direction?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] That depends on which side you mean.

[Nemes] Can you see any steps leading in the right direction in what the authorities have done so far?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] I don't know. It was said that there would be a settling of accounts by the end of December with all those who brought the country to its present troublesome state. However, no one has been punished so far. There is only the trial in progress of what's-his-name.

[Nemes] Szczepanski.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Yes, Szczepanski. What about the others? What about the former secretary, Comrade Secretary Gierek and Jaroszewski? [As heard, presumably Jaroszewicz] Where are they?

[Nemes] They have been interned.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] I don't know about that; nothing is said on television about it. The people who have ruined the country in this way should be punished first and the others should be dealt with only later. That would be a good thing and in that case society would look at things in a different way and would trust the party and the government in a different way. As things are, I just don't know.

[Nemes] And whom do you trust?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] I don't know whom I should trust right now.

[Nemes] And what do you think about the future?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Perhaps I can escape to the West.

[Nemes] Is that really your opinion?

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Oh no, I am just joking.

[Nemes] In such a situation a party secretary has a difficult task. Franciszek Rogowski, who was elected to his post by the 1,300 party members of the port, is forced into tough arguments and these do not always take place in circumstances one would envy. However, the point is that he is there and takes part in the arguments.

[Franciszek Rogowski, party secretary of the Gdynia Harbor PZPR Committee] You are right.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Why is it being closed down? It should not be closed down.

[Rogowski] You are right.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Why do you place people, who regard us as scoundrels, in those posts? They buy off people or get them free. It is like a slave market.

[Rogowski] I agree, there are many examples of this kind.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] They worked in Solidarity and for the peasants, and now they leave Solidarity and turn against it.

[Rogowski] That's it.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] Why are such people trusted? [Words indistinct] those people speak for money and nothing else. They see that they can get no more bread on this side so they move to the other side. They should have one opinion and should stay on one side or the other.

[Rogowski] They should keep to their true face. That's quite natural.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] They should not be turncoats. There have been many party members who served in the SS at one time. I know people of this kind.

[Rogowski] Yes, there are those who first belonged to the party and who then surrendered their membership cards. There have been such cases in the port.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] That's right.

[Rogowski] Then they joined Solidarity. And now that Solidarity is losing its grip...

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker interrupts] That's right and now these even want some post, an office desk, perhaps.

[Rogowski] True. They should come to work instead.

[Unidentified Gdynia harbor worker] And they should not change their opinions so often.

[Nemes] Comrade Secretary, we have just been listening to a big argument here. Isn't the party on the defensive in these debates?

[Rogowski] Not at all. Whenever things were going in a bad way we assessed the situation in a critical way -- at least this is what we did at the enterprise. The party acted in the same way in the port. This is an old established tradition. There has always been here -- even before the war -- a sharp, typical workers' spirit. The party has also been criticized for its mistakes and it is being cricized today. Our leaders have been criticized and the party carried out criticism within its own ranks.

[Nemes] However, there is to be a price increase and people are very discontented. What kind of stand is the party taking?

[Rogowski] What kind of stand is the party taking? That is a difficult question. The party will simply judge the extent to which this is realistic. This is because we must realize that we cannot solve everything as a result of one single move, that is to say, the raising of prices. The rise in prices will have to be followed by production. What is more, it is our view that certain products should become cheaper because there were too many products at one time. [sentence as heard] Speaking about the price increases, it must be ensured that real costs are asserted. Production costs should be in harmony with prices. If we cannot work this out then there is nothing to chatter about.

[Nemes] The Ursus factory, just like Gdansk and the coastal areas, is regarded as a particularly difficult area. However, the consolidation of the PZPR on the basis of the generally accepted fundamental principles has now got underway everywhere.

[Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee] We consider it essential among our basic principles that the so-called party aktiv, whose members have become fully acquainted with the true face of the Solidarity extremists, should declare whether they wish to remain members of Solidarity or whether they want to leave it. We expect the aktiv, that is to say, the members of the party bodies and the party apparatus, [to say] that those who have not yet formally left Solidarity should now declare that they are leaving Solidarity. Naturally, they are now making these declarations.

[Nemes] And what about ordinary members?

[Bejger] As for the ordinary party members, those who have not pursued any political activities within Solidarity but who regarded it as a trade union movement, well, in their case it is our point of departure that they need not leave Solidarity. However, there are instances now of even ordinary party members who declare that they are leaving it. However, we leave this to their conscience, their own free decision.

[Nemes] Comrade Siwak, we have been to many factories and the workers have told us that they want a trade union like Solidarity was, but without the former political activity. What is your opinion about this?

[Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Politburo] My opinion is different from this, because I meet workers, too. In the past weeks I have been to several voivodas' workshops, and I have to say that my personal opinion, which is based on the meetings with the workers, is a little different. Of course, I agree that there are also those who would like to revive the Solidarity trade union; there are such groups. But I also met Solidarity members who do not want Solidarity to exist again. Apart from this, let us take into consideration the fact that Industrial Branch Trade Unions have also functioned here. Several million people belonged to the Branch Trade Unions. All things considered, the point is that in future we should have only one trade union. Because for the working class, and for the Polish people in general, it was a misfortune that they were permitted to break up into different groups. Because, you know, if there are several groups then it is easy to break every trade union in turn. Compared to this, a working class with one center, with a strong trade union, is strong. It has its representation in the party leadership, in the government, and in the international forums too. All things considered, I would like to say that those old trade unions, the Branch Unions as they are called, have excellent traditions. And these have functioned for over 100 years.

[Nemes] But is this your personal opinion; or is it a party standpoint based on some kind of decision?

[Siwak] My party opinion, as a member of the Politburo? Well, I would like to say clearly that the trade union issue is as yet an open issue in our country. It depends on how the working basis, the mass of the country's population, decides, what kind of trade union it wants. Naturally, it is a general condition that the trade unions have to stand on the soil of socialism. They will be the kind of trade unions that people want, but at the same time they will be trade unions. They will have to be trade unions which recognize the Polish Constitution, the Warsaw Pact, Poland's friendship with other countries. This is a fundamental issue.

[Nemes] Do you think there will be a trade union in this factory in the future?

[Worker of the Wola dairy plant] I think there must be. Incidentally, the trade union here in the factory had no conflict either with the party organization or with the management. There is a need for a trade union in every factory and these must concern themselves first and foremost with the concerns of the workers.

[Nemes] And you, a party secretary, would you agree that the same person should be the factory chairman of Solidarity, as has been the case until now?

[Secretary of the PZPR Committee of the Wola dairy plant] Yes, naturally.

[Nemes] It has been said that the question of the trade unions is still an open issue. What is your idea on this?

[Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs] Comrade Jaruzelski said more than that in his speech. He set the conditions for the rebirth of the Polish trade union movement. Firstly, we do not see any possibility of returning to the conditions which prevailed before 13 December. Nor do we regard it as possible that the life of our workplace collectives should be organized without trade unions. Naturally, they must meet the requirements of Polish law, of the Constitution, and they must reflect the real interests of the worker collectives. They cannot become some sort of political opposition. We are working intensively on this, conducting discussions, and having individual conversations with trade union activists. I can tell you that we are experiencing a period of reflection, a certain reappraisal, regarding the conduct of the trade unions. I think that sober good sense will be victorious and I hope that we shall be able to build the future of the Polish trade union movement on the realism of the people, of the trade union activists, and on the genuine will of the workers, of the worker collectives.

[Nemes] Does this also apply to Walesa?

[Ciosek] We are conducting talks with Lech Walesa, the chairman of Solidarity, and also with many other activists. We reach certain views which coincide. Of course, these are generalities, but I think that there is still time for working out the detailed positions more precisely. After all, what will happen in the Polish trade union movement must be the joint property of every side participating in the founding of the trade unions -- the party, the authorities and the working class. This requires time to enable this concept to mature safely. We would like to create conditions for the working class itself to express its opinion on the future of the trade union movement, so that it can choose the form which will serve the interests of socialism in Poland and thus also the interests of the working class.

[Nemes] The church leaders have undertaken a moderating, balancing role in the Polish crisis or crises. However, after the introduction of the state of emergency tremendous pressure was exerted on the clergy -- both from among its own ranks and from outside -- to lead the oppositions. This is what gives significance to the views of (Alois Hemmel) the director of church services on the radio, who voices views similar to those of Archbishop Glemp.

[Hemmel] The sermons delivered at the masses and all the social manifestations of the Polish church are led by the same idea, namely easing tensions within the scope of possibility, calming social disquet. It is important for us not to stir up something that would lead nowhere.

[Nemes] Thus, the most important requirement of life at present is calm.

[Hemmel] I would say patience. Yes, patience, mutually, to give each other, people, time for thought. It does not matter where. The essence is that we should not irritate each other, not annoy each other and that a certain sense of being endangered, which is evoked by the state of emergency, should not make normal everyday life more difficult. People sometimes live in a state of danger for a long period of time. The essence is that they should be able to live normally, in a normal (?rhythm) and with internal faith in what is happening.

[Nemes] One of the most important signs of normalization was the convening of the Sejm, the parliament. The Poles expected the speech by General Jaruselski to provide the program for a solution. The premier spoke clearly: There is no return to the methods of government before September 1980; we do not make treaties with the enemy but with honest people, even if they made mistakes. We must find an agreement, he said. Besides the representatives of the PZPR and the two other parliamentary parties, those who do not entirely agree with the government's measures also spoke in the Sejm. Mr Zablocki, you said that the state of emergency is the lesser evil, and yet, nonetheless, you did not want to vote for the relevant law. Is this not a contradiction?

[Sejm Deputy Janusz Zablocki, president of the Catholic Social Association] These are two different issues. The members of our group of deputies and I have always believed in agreement and negotiations. We wanted a compromise between the two sides, Solidarity and the government. Nonetheless, things have developed differently, and what occurred in Poland on 13 December is indeed the lesser evil. We see a possibility for cooperation on the basis of what General Jaruselski said in his speech in the Sejm; cooperation between the church and the state, the authorities and society, a vast proportion of which comprises Catholics. If we have reservations concerning the decree submitted to the Sejm, these concern the legal side of the matter.

[Nemes] And as for the contents, do you agree with this decree -- with the content, not with the legal side?

[Zablocki] The content of the decree naturally arises from the decision to introduce the state of emergency.

[Nemes] Zablocki's Catholic group abstained. There was a deputy, however, Bukowski, a sculptor from Gdansk, who voted no. He is, incidentally, a member of Solidarity. This is how he spoke about his own future and the future of the country:

[Bukowski] Regardless of the hard times, I am always an optimist. I always feel I am listening to the will of my electors and thus at least to part of the nation. At several sessions of the Sejm, I have been a supporter and initiator of the act of national reconciliation. This act has not come about. In the meantime, a new situation has come about, that which we call the state of emergency. The trade unions are not functioning at present. Nonetheless, I consider that the most important element of reconciliation and every sort of social activity is the nation, society. It will be impossible to find a way out of the crisis without authority beginning a dialogue with society.

[Nemes] Something has begun in Poland. After all, more and more people are coming to recognize that the country, which is exhausted from the economic, social and psychological points of view, needs calm, successes and reconciliation based on genuine solutions to problems. In January 1982, only the intention and the possibilities of this could be perceived, on the basis of which Poland will finally decide: Which way next?

[Deputy Premier Rakowski] Take into consideration that the state of emergency brought calm, restored order, brought what I might term a general calming down. At the same time, however, it also involved the fact that a large part of society lived through 13 December as a psychologically painful event. As I have said, it was a shock. In other words, society is very sensitive; it is still full of mistrust toward us. There are many question marks, open questions. Society has to be treated very carefully today. It is necessary to bend to it, to be very sensitive to every one of its reactions. It is necessary to understand that this was a shock. For example, the dialogue with society; this cannot be conducted with a hammer. There must be reflections, feedback. And it is necessary to see the cause of the Polish people in a wider context, not only from the aspect of a narrow Polish point of view.

If we take the trade unions as an example, it is beyond doubt that very many Poles, many workers, were members of Solidarity not in order to fight against the Polish state, against socialism in Poland; rather, they saw Solidarity as the organization which would make it easier to remove everything that was bad in our system. We must pay attention to these people; we must talk and argue with them. However, we must not shout at them, we must not order them about, we must not adopt the pose of the victor, that look which says: We have introduced the state of emergency and everything is solved now.

Why do I say this? Because it is connected with what you touched upon, namely political stability. Political stabilization is nothing but a question of trust -- society's trust for what we are doing. Today, in many cases, this trust is rather weak. But I return once more to the fundamental idea: We are doing everything -- this is perhaps clear also from the speech which Comrade Jaruzelski delivered in the Sejm -- to convince society that we introduced the state of emergency not in order to make governance easier for us but precisely to reverse the fatal direction of events, so that Poland should return, so to speak, to Europe, to the socialist community, as a strong state, a state which has a perspective in front of it, which is not shaken by demagogic shouts, and so on.

We do not in any way want to deviate from the road of essential systemic changes in Poland. The introduction of the state of emergency does not in the least amount to a halt to the processes of democratization, because these could not be stopped. We do not want to return to the period before August 1980. To tell you the truth, even if someone wanted to return, there is no one to return with because he cannot return either with the working class or with the intelligentsia, or with the army. Simply, he would be a lone wanderer on the Polish steppe, who would like to return to the policies full of faults and distortions.

We can only talk about political stabilization if we have gained this trust. Political stabilization cannot be introduced by decree. These processes occur in people's heads. We must accelerate these processes. We must facilitate them. It is a great task to get out of this period of chaos, uncertainty, political uncertainty. Because I know that it will take almost a generation -- or, rather, I shall not make it as long as 25 years -- but at any rate I consider that those who think that in a year's time there will be marvellous reconciliation in Poland are mistaken. Those who think, if my comrades think, that we have brought in the state of emergency and thus we can now govern alone; we do not have to take various views into consideration and that we shall now demonstrate how splendidly we can govern, those who think so are also mistaken.

Poland lived through a great shock. The Polish nation has been subjected to various shocks, bad and good alike. We have to draw conclusions from everything about governing, the exercise of power, the utilization of power. What I want to say is that those who possess power must not be conceited, because authority is finally always stronger than the citizen.

[Nemes] Which way next? What is going to happen?

[Unidentified worker] I think the situation will have to develop well now. We are going to work.

[Nemes] Do you agree with this view?

[Unidentified worker] If we work, then something will develop -- if everyone works decently, ourselves, our authorities, at every place of work.

[Nemes] Do you believe everyone thinks like this?

[Unidentified worker] Yes, this is my personal opinion and probably this is what others believe too.

[Nemes] Do you really believe in this or do you just think that in a state of emergency one must work?

[Unidentified worker] No, not because of the state of emergency but in general. We must work, not as we have done up to now.

[Nemes] And when there is no longer a state of emergency?

[Unidentified worker] Well, naturally, we shall have to work then as well, so that at last we can enter the vanguard of Europe.

[Nemes] Do you hope for the same thing?

[Unidentified worker] Yes, I do. If we are going to work and do so more productively, then the situation must improve in the country.

[Unidentified voice] As I have said, something has begun. Something is happening but it is not yet possible to see the final result. We do not know what might happen yet. There is calm, it is true. There is order at present. The laws of the state of emergency regulate everything. There is calm in Poland. Unquestionably there is calm. However, it is difficult to say how things will develop.

[Unidentified voice] We shall see.

[Unidentified voice] It is too early to say. Perhaps we shall know more in a month's time.

CHARGES REPORTED AT SZCZEPANSKI TRIAL

LD191950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] The trial of the former management of the Radio and Television Committee is continuing. Our reporter Ewa Heine will tell you what happened today:

Today the accused Maciej Szczepanski gave explanations in connection with the final charge in the indictment. He is charged with making an unjustified payment of Z96,000 to (Andrzej Jucewicz). The accused pleaded not guilty and said that (Andrzej Jucewicz) was released from the Radio Committee; until he was able to find employment commensurate with the positions he so far occupied, he had to receive this equivalent amount, arrived at by mutual agreement, so he would not feel hurt.

Maciej Szczepanski remarked that this was the general practice with regard to all people from the list of appointments confirmed by higher, specially-appointed party authorities [nomenklatura]. Subsequently, the accused summed up the explanations he gave. This was to justify the thesis, repeated by Maciej Szczepanski, that both he and his close coworkers found themselves in trouble as a result of political provocation. He also criticized the official press campaign which, in his view, is inspired by the Supreme Chamber of Control and the Prosecutor's Office, and it gave the public the stereotype of Maciej Szczepanski -- demoralized, a socialist playboy.

This stereotype, in the view of the accused, was responsible for the fact that witnesses said what they thought the investigators wished to hear. That is why the accused bears no grudge against people who spoke ill of him. He does not feel guilty, regarding himself merely as a victim in the struggle for personal influence waged by other people.

It is symptomatic for the accused to have stated that if he began work in the Radio and Television Committee all over again, he would have done the same things. The 8 years that he was chairman he regards as his best years in this institution.

Then the judge asked the accused what his de facto, nonofficial ties were with the then first secretary of the party. The accused explained that they did not have social ties. He med Edward Gierek as a young journalist in 1956. However, the thread of mutual understanding always bound them. Out of the prosecutor's questions, the one about the significance of socialist morality is noteworthy. The accused was unable to give a direct reply to this question.

NSZZ SOLIDARITY MEMBERS TRIALS UNDERWAY, ENDING

Regional Chairman Trial Opens

LD191344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] In the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship Court, the trial began today, under summary procedure, against the chairman of the regional board of the NSZZ Solidarity of Sub-Beskids, 34-year-old Patrycjusz Kosmowski.

The act of indictment accuses him of not refraining -- despite the legal suspension of this union -- from participating in the union's activity, and above all and in accordance with earlier decisions of organizing a conspiratorial structure of the union, whose task it was to carry out a protest action against martial law which had already been introduced.

After establishing the personal data of the accused, the court, on the motion of the defense, adjourned the case until Monday.

Strike Organizers Sentenced

LD191532 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] The Silesian Military District Court of Wroclaw, during the session in Katowice, under summary proceedings sentenced Jan Karpinski to 4 years and 6 months of deprivation of freedom and, in addition, deprived him of his public rights for 4 years; sentenced Miroslav Szot to 3 years and 6 months of deprivation of freedom and, in addition, deprived him of his public rights for 3 years; sentenced Jan Romba and Adam Kawlik to 3 years each of deprivation of freedom and also deprived them of their public rights for 3 years. They were sentenced by virtue of Article 46, paragraph 2 of the 12 December decree on martial law.

They were found guilty by virtue of the fact that during 15-17 December 1981 in Brzeszcze mine, which had been militarized, these members of NSZZ Solidarity did not give up trade union activities which had been suspended. Jan Karpinski and Miroslav Szot persuaded the miners to go on strike and subsequently they led it. The remaining two defendants, on the other hand, Jan Romba and Adam Kawlik, undertook, as a part of the strike, organizational functions connected with maintaining telephone connections as well as with building of a barricade on the mine area.

The sentence is legally binding.

Strike Organizers Jailed

LD192248 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Feb (PAP) -- The Lodz Voivodship Court today sentenced Wojciech Rutowicz and Ryszard Junysty to prison terms of three years and Wlodczierz Stefaniak for three and a half years. All three had their civic rights suspended for 3 years.

The convicted persons, Solidarnosc activists at the Lodz "Bistona" textile factory, were found guilty of continuing union activity in contravention of martial law regulations and organising a strike at the factory.

The trial was held under summary procedure.

DAILY ON ECONOMIC REFORM COMMISSION ANALYSIS

AU191530 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Analysis of Reasons for the Crisis in the Economy"]

[Text] On 15 February the fourth meeting of the Central Committee Economic Reform and Economic Policy Commission took place at the PZPR Central Committee. It was chaired by Stanislaw Opalko, its chairman, Central Committee Politburo member and Tarnow Voivodship Committee secretary.

The following took part in the meeting: Jan Labedzki, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Factory Committee at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; Marian Wozniak, Central Committee secretary; and Stanislaw Gebala, secretary to the commission and head of the Central Committee's Economic Department.

The discussions were introduced by Jerzy Gwiazdzinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, and Wladyslaw Baka, government minister plenipotentiary for economic reform matters. J. Gwiazdzinski's introduction dealt with "crucial problems of verifying the government's anticrisis program with regard to the changed conditions for running the economy," and W. Baka's introduction dealt with "the main changes in the way running the national economy should be organized."

J. Gwiazczinski presented an appraisal of the economic situation in the country at the beginning of 1982 as contained in the Planning Commission's new report on the state of the economy. In this report, it is stressed that the current state of the economy is the accumulated effect of three groups of factors:

First, mistakes in the economic policy and management of the 70's, during which crisis trends arose. These mistakes then led to the crisis being removed eventually, but at the cost of deepening the country's economic instability;

Second, the decisions taken in 1980 to increase wages and other social benefits without any material backing, which resulted in inflation getting out of control and the domestic market collapsing; accompanied by inevitable negative consequences for remaining areas of economic activity;

Third, the destructive influence on the economy of the social tensions and the weakening in the efficiency of the system of economic implementation which arose in the latter half of 1980, particularly as a result of activity by opponents of the socialist system living in Poland.

One of the most important bottlenecks for the economy today is the import of raw materials and goods and also materials produced under cooperation schemes. In connection with the sanctions by Reagan's government and also by some EEC countries, we must gradually make Polish industry less dependent on the highly developed capitalist countries. Animal production should also be based to a greater extent on our own fodder.

As far as possibilities are concerned, it is necessary to make better use of the raw materials and goods available to us. We must restore by all means the value of the payments system. Exploiting all production factors in the best possible way will let us increase our national income this year compared to last year.

During the second topic in the talks, Minister W. Baka discussed the level of legislative work on the packet of nine laws which had been laid before the Sejm concerning economic reform and problems of how the structure of the economy and economic systems should be rebuilt. In his introduction, and also in his answers to numberous questions, he devoted a lot of time to describing potential threats which could exist during the period of initiating economic reform. The main threats are, in particular, the result of the routine and habits of some of the echelons in government offices and enterprises, of the particular affairs of trades and workplaces, and of the fact that certain instruction-giving levles frequently fail to observe the law.

The following mebers of the commission took part in the talks: K. Bartelik, J. Bucko, Z. Kaniecki, J. Kolodziejczak, M. Obiedzinski, B. Rogala, J. Soldaczuk and H. Wojtal. In addition, the following Sejm deputies took part in the meeting: J. Legowska, Z. Malicki and J. Kubit.

Stanislaw Opalko, chairman of the talks, presented the draft of the commission's work plan for the first half of 1982, which was then adopted. The next meeting of the commission will be devoted to key problems in housing policy and to the development of housing construction, which is connected with the implementation of the Central Committee sixth plenum's resolution, as well as with the recommendations contained in the Sejm speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation and first secretary of the Central Committee. The following meeting will deal with setting up the new wage system, the principles behind wage policy in light of the economic reform, and implementing the program for overcoming the crisis. The meeting after that will take a look at topics which -- in accordance with the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress -- have been prepared for the Central Committee plenary meeting on the subject of the development of the maritime economy and how its functioning in conjunction with the entire national economy can be improved. During this meeting, the chief ways of increasing economic, scientific and technical cooperation with CEMA countries will also be examined. The last commission meeting of the first half of 1982 will be devoted to a composite appraisal of the way the resolution of the ninth congress is being implemented relating to Chapter Five entitled "The Ways of Overcoming the Crisis, Stabilizing the Economy of the Country and Fulfilling the Principles of Social Justice," to the resolutions made by Central Committee plenary meetings and to the motions by ninth congress delegates concerning socioeconomic problems.

COMMITTEE URGES MORE SATURDAY OPENING OF SHOPS

LD200006 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] During today's session of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, the state of the scientific and research base and its role and tasks in leading the country out of the crisis were assessed. It was pointed out that the effects of the activity of the scientific and research base are too small in comparison with its potential and with expectations. The most immediate tasks for centers of this kind were determined.

Following this, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers reviewed matters connected with extending the work of trade and services on work-free days. It was made incumbent upon the minister of domestic trade and services to increase the number of food shops active on work-free Saturdays. It was stated that the number of shops ought to be increased (?to) at least 25 percent, whilst the network of active Ruch kiosks [where tobacco, newspapers, and so forth are sold] ought to be doubled. On work-free Saturdays, the points for the sale of industrial items and the services' network ought to be open to such a degree that at least 20 percent of them are functioning. The detailed principles of the work of trade and services on work-free days will be determined by the local authorities, bearing in mind local conditions and needs.

METALLURGY MINISTRY HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

LD202138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] A press conference devoted to problems connected with the introduction of the economic reform at the enterprises of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry was held at the ministry today. A considerable number of meetings with managing directors and military plenipotentiaries have been held to discuss the issues involved. Much attention is being devoted to the question of better and less expensive production as well as the accounting and estimating of costs. It is necessary to draft a new system of remuneration and tariffs which will make it possible to link remunerative directly with the amount of labor and its productivity.

In the last few weeks there has been an alarming increase in the number of enterprises where the shortage of raw and other materials has caused the risk of production being halted or considerably reduced.

SEJM COMMISSIONS DRAFT SOCIOECONOMIC BILL

LD191752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] The Sejm Commission for Workers' Self-Management in Enterprises; for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances; and for Legislative Affairs have adopted the final version of the draft bill on socioeconomic planning. We remind you that this bill -- with the remaining legal acts defining the form of the economic reform -- has already been discussed in the relevant subcommission and at two meetings which the three commissions held last week.

The deputies introduced many significant changes, amendments and supplements to the government plenipotentiary for economic reform matters, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, stated that for the first time in history a successful attempt has been made to legislatively regulate the principles and procedures of planning in order to unequivocally define the terms of reference, the powers and the responsibility in this sphere while assuring the community's participation in creating and controlling the implementation of the plan. The Sejm will make the final decision on all of the nine draft bills.

BILL EXAMINES STATE ADMINISTRATION CADRE

LD192128 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1915 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] The Government Presidium examined the bill on state employees. It creates, in line with the proposals presented to the Sejm on 25 January by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, a system aimed at an all-round improvement of the functioning of the state administration.

The Government Press Bureau reported that among the many and varied measures to improve the functioning of the state administration an amendment of the organizational structure is being made; superfluous reporting is being cut back; qualifications are being reviewed and cadres exchanged with a view to greater demands of independence and responsibility.

Despite current views, the cadre in the state administration are not so numerous. In 1980, only 0.8 percent of professionally active people worked in it; this is much lower than in many other countries. The last dozen or so months have been particularly stiff examination for the state administration cadre. In the period from 1 August, 1980 to 13 January of this year, 1,092 changes in managerial posts in local administrative offices were made; and in the period since 13 December last year, as a result of ad hoc verification, more than 760 people, including 6 voivodas, 17 deputy voivodas, 161 mayors and chief regional officers were relieved of their posts.

WARSAW REPORTS ON INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE

LD220922 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] And now something more about the problems of the countryside, about the main directions of investment in agriculture and in the food industry:

Despite the difficulties which are piling up, the investment outlays in this sector of the economy in the current 5-year plan have been maintained at a level similair to the past 5-year plan. The envisaged investment outlays and the supplies of the means of production should ensure, in this 5-year plan, an average rise in the total agricultural production of 2 and 1/2 percent in relation to the average level of the past 5 years and in production in the food industry of 3 percent. The largest increase in investments is envisaged for individual farms.

FINANCE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES FOREIGN DEBT

PM191205 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Feb 82 pp 1,6

[PAP correspondent Tomasz Walat interview with Mr Karcz, director of the Foreign Department of the Polish Ministry of Finance: "It Is Difficult To Establish Economic Cooperation But Easy To Sever It" -- date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] During the past year our foreign debt increased to $25.5 billion. At the same time our relations with capitalist countries became more complicated as a result of the restrictions imposed by the American Government and certain West European countries. Our payments situation continues to be extremely difficult. A PAP journalist asked the director of the Foreign Department of the Ministry of Finance to assess it:

Last year, Director Karcz stated, it was impossible for a variety of reasons to take any effective action with a view to improving the payments situation. There were some objective reasons mainly resulting from a disastrous harvest in 1980 which made it necessary to import enormous -- in relation to our economic possibilities -- amounts of food throughout the following year.

About one-half of the funds earmarked for imports from capitalist countries in 1981 were utilized for the purchase of food. This adversely affected our balance of payments and, in particular, limited our possibilities in the sphere of imports of supplies and raw materials for our industry.

Furthermore, last year was wasted from the economic viewpoint, a fact made especially clear by the recent communique issued by the Main Statistical Office. The payments situation was also affected by an unprecedentedly big -- nearly 50 percent -- fall in the exports of hard coal.

All the revenue derived from exports should have been earmarked for the repayment of installments and interests due in connection with previously obtained credits, had it not been for a refinancing operation which made it possible to defer the repayment of 50 percent of our overall debts for some 8 years.

[Question] The situation looks extremely black....

[Answer] Not altogether. We also had some brighter moments. Looking back at the entire year I would first of all mention, for instance, the fact that action was taken to enable us in the future to repay our debts more calmly and in a planned manner and, at the same time, to make it possible for us to secure new loans.

These new credits will also help to improve the situation because they will enable our industry, which has not been fully utilizing its production potential, to move forward after purchasing the semifinished goods and raw materials which it badly needs.

The solutions which we worked out during our talks with the representatives of 16 Western governments and with banks were of a precedent setting [precedensowy] nature in the sphere of relations between creditors and debtors. And we can say that even though the terms secured are difficult they are generally satisfactory. Our creditors -- both banks and countries -- showed good will and a friendly attitude toward our problems.

[Question] This has obviously changed after 13 December....

[Answer] Despite what has frequently been written in the world press, I will venture to state that the banking circles have continued to be favorably disposed toward us. However, the attitude of many Western countries has changed, mainly as a result of the steps taken by the American administration.

Some banks have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, but the banking community as a whole has maintained a very level-headed stance. It has realized the chance created in Poland by the introduction of martial law.

The quality of work has improved and this above all is what is bound to determine the restoration of our credibility and their confidence. In the short period which has elapsed since the introduction of martial law, certain events have taken place which are consistent with the suggestions made to us by international economic centers and whose acceptance by us was to be a prerequisite for a restoration of stability.

Foreign reports mentioned, above all, the need to increase the amount of coal extracted and a reform of food prices. Both these processes have already been started.

[Question] However, political pressure on the banks is extremely strong....

[Answer] This is true. Even though experts have continued to show understanding for the situation and appreciation of common interests, practical steps may be imposed by politics. Any policy which would force our being declared in default would obviously have an adverse effect on our economic situation but it would also hurt the economy of many European countries both in the short term and in the long term.

Poland's insolvency would obviously not lead to the insolvency of other countries but nonetheless it would lead to a dramatic fall in bilateral trade in general and in exports to Poland in particular.

Many jobs could be jeopardized as a result and, in view of the prevailing situation where unemployment has been rising in many countries, this would bound to be of some significance. Let me remind you of the fact that in the sphere of our economic cooperation in the past with the West, exports to Poland played a major role, helping to either preserve or create many jobs.

If such a situation were to be brought about this would also affect the East-West relations in general.

Our attitude to this question has repeatedly been made clear since the introduction of martial law -- we are in favor of a continuation of economic and financial cooperation and want to fully meet our obligations.

[Question] So we will not suspend our economic cooperation with the West?

[Answer] We have no such intention. To those who have such an intention I would like to say that it is difficult to establish economic cooperation but easy to sever it. And many years are needed to reestablish it. Irrespective of any outside reactions, we must obviously take some more energetic steps with a view to restoring both the internal and external balance which has been upset in recent years by -- among other things -- reducing some especially burdensom dependence on foreign countries, by for instance, reducing the amount of food which we have been importing.

With reference to this I would like to mention the fact that some people believe that our economy is too closely tied to that of Western countries. I do not share this view because a chronic underdevelopment of our production for export has been one of the causes of our difficulties in the sphere of payments.

As a result, our per capita exports are considerably lower than those of such countries as Hungary, the GDR and Bulgaria.

So it is not a question of excessively close ties between our economy and the world economy but of the one-sidedness of these ties, that is, excessive imports unmatched by a corresponding export potential. In any case, this also now applies to our exports to socialist countries.

However, we are still in favor of a develoment of mutually advantageous trade exchanges and cooperation with all countries. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski has discussed this matter in the Sejm. Nothing has been done by our side in the economic sphere which could provide any grounds for a discriminatory treatment of Poland in the economic sphere.

We have sought to honor all agreements. Our partners possess all data concerning our balance of payments and the country's economic situation. They realize that we may find ourselves in an impasse in which cooperation as before would be impossible.

[Question] But is there any chance that we could again become an attractive partner as far as this kind of cooperation is concerned?

[Answer] Our resources in terms of material assets and population allow us to give a positive answer to this question. We are potentially a rather rich country which could soon regain its place in the international division of labor provided the already initiated process is continued.

[Question] Mr Director, many citizens -- especially young ones -- were recently leaving the country because they were frightened of the burden of the debts which they would have to repay. Does this optimism also apply to them?

[Answer] I cannot quite believe that these were the reasons why young -- and not so young -- people have been leaving our country. I can only state that the debts incurred by our country are not bigger than those incurred by some other countries in the world and what I have in mind are not only certain remote developing countries but also even certain European countries located not too far away from us.

If we achieve an increase in exports we will be in a position to resume repayments and receive new credits which, once they are invested sensibly, will provide us with means for financing further economic growth.

TRYBUNA LUDU: INCREASED TIES WITH CEMA NEEDED

LD220952 Warsaw PAP in English 0803 GMT 22 Feb 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Feb (PAP) -- The bonds on the Warsaw-Moscow line, the bonds of friendship, alliance, assistance and cooperation cover all the most important areas of bilateral relations, from culture, to politics to economy. This is especially important for us just now as we grapple with a pile of problems, writes the party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU today.

The daily recalls how in the past months the internal and external enemies of socialism in Poland repeatedly attempted to undermine the confidence in friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

"All that however did not shake, for it could not shake the idea of friendship because that idea is so deeply rooted in the historical traditions of our nations.

"It did not undermine the faith held by the allies and friends that the Polish communists, the patriotic majority of society would themselves put an end to the dismantling of the state and the economy and refind the highway to socialist renewal.

"We are in for still plenty of difficulties and sacrifice which are not likely to grow less acute in the months ahead, as the consequences of our excessive economic dependence on Western imports will begin to accumulate.

"We must orient our foreign cooperation ties, and more strongly than so far, towards the fraternal countries of the CMEA, the Soviet Union, the friends who take a vital and honest interest in the normalization of life in our country," says TRYBUNA LUDU.

PZPR DAILY HITS VOA, RFE REPORTS ON INTERNEES

AU191545 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 82 p 4

[J.S. commentary: "Deaf to Truth, Open to Falsehood"]

[Text] We have heard that they lived in horrible conditions, that they were kept in the cold in stadiums or crammed into thin tents. Gangrene, typhus, pneumonia and diarrhea were the order of the day, because they were deprived of elementary medical care; their food was miserable; and water and soap were a dream for them. They were dept in communicado, and their destinies were surrounded with mystery. Their families had been ostracized by the regime, suffered various afflictions and only found comfort from people both compassionate and -- ah! -- how courageous, because exposed to the security sanctions....

That is the apocalyptic picture of the destiny of the internees and their families, shown for weeks in the subsequent programs of Radio Free Europe and echoed by other stations of the "free world." Reports such as the quoted ones, from anonymous (look at that regime), but reliable and competent sources (dear listeners, there are certain channels.), are apparently being served to their readers by the most serious agencies and periodicals in the West.

The chairman of the Austrian Caritas, which has been giving significant assistance to the Poles in need, recently visited Poland and gave an extensive interview to a Voice of America reporter. The following are excerpts from Father Dr. Leopold Unger's pronouncements broadcast on 23 January 1982:

"The church carries out its charity activity without hindrance. It can assist internees, as well as persons arrested and already sentenced after the imposition of martial law. Two days before my arrival there, the bishop of Katowice visited people jailed in his diocese. He spoke to them and organized assistance for them... it was not true that they were in the cold and tortured. I asked all Polish priests about that and received positive answers....

Let us supplement those pronouncements with the unquestioned facts confirmed by representatives of the Polish Episcopate, the Polish Red Cross Society and the International Red Cross committee who visited internment establishments: The caloric value of food served daily amounts to 2,600-3,000 calories; medical care is constant; accommodations are heated; internees are able not only to live, but also to engage in intellectual activities (in particular, they have access to the press and libraries, can hold meetings and even -- verbatim! -- engage in self-education). Internees receive food parcels from their families and charity institutions. Having inspected four establishments, representatives of the International Red Cross fixed material assistance to internees at rather modest quantities (which was evidence of their insignificant needs); specifically, they delivered a certain amount of foodstuffs for dietetic cooking, as well as parcels with personal hygiene articles which, examined in the Polish Red Cross headquarters in Mikotowska street in Warsaw, proved to significantly exceed the standard rations....

However, let us go back to the church's charity activity for the benefit of internees, referred to by Father Unger. Up to 26 January 1982, representatives of the episcopates made 76 calls at internment establishments, repeated at some of them. They were visited by Archbishop J. Glemp, primate of Poland, who stayed, for example, in Bialoleka -- and there is no secret about it -- nearly 7 hours. Similar calls were made by Bishops Bednorz, Stroba, Czerniak and Sosinowski. Up to the aforesaid 26 January, 237 masses were celebrated in internment establishments and, of course, priests rendered all religious services. About 2,000 food parcels were delivered to internees on behalf of the church.

All that pastoral and humanitarian activity has its source in the fact that the authorities accepted the church proposal and authorized the formation of the Primate's Committee for Assistance to Prisoners and Internees. The committee is chaired by Bishop W. Miziolek.

The authorities authorized the committee's activity and, as a rule, liberally [rozszerajaco] interpreted decisions adopted by it in advance. Evidence of this is the following insignificant example: Since internee A. Michnik has been suffering (for a long time, not since 13 December -- just to avoid any doubts) from gastritis, special meals are being prepared for him daily in a cloister to be to the internment establishment.

In view of such a state of affairs and of such facts, which are neither confidential nor secret, and in view of the possibility of obtaining information in the Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs, as well in the primate's committee or at the Polish Red Cross Society. The question arises what is the source of those "reliable" reports and -- more frequently -- "sensations" about the lives of internees, broadcast by Radio Free Europe and similar propaganda centers? What is the source of myths and gossip coined for domestic use. In this event without the interference of the "free world"?

There are many indications that some persons directly contacting internees interpret their tasks and functions rather amiss. While misusing the confidence of both the authorities and the church, which sponsors the pastoral and charity activities, a few persons dabble at gossip and mail delivery.

That is ugly, because it is disloyal and sometimes even harmful or irritable at spots where it could have been avoided. It is unpleasant to refer to the parable about the peddlers thrown out of the temple, because they, instead of praying, were engaged in activity which was a long way from the matters of faith, hope and love....

Of course, Radio Free Europe knows everything better. It has always known better, for years. It is too bad that the conjecture arises that its "ear" includes several persons who not only miss the truth, but also forget about the fact that, in delicate situations, a "gentlemen's agreement" obliges gentlemen.

CYPRYNIAK ATTENDS 2-DAY WORKING MEETING IN PRAGUE

LD200020 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] In Prague today the 2-day working meeting of heads and deputy heads of the political organizational and organizational sections of the central committees of the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries, ended. Kazimierz Cypryniak, head of the organizational section of the PZPR Central Committee took part in the session. The participants in the meeting reviewed matters connected with the preparations for the session of the secretaries of central committees of the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries, who deal with political and organizational work.

KOWALCZYK CHAIRS SD COMMITTEE LEADERSHIP MEETING

LD202136 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Feb (PAP) -- Chairmen and secretaries of the Democratic Party voivodship committees held a meeting here today, presided over by Chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee Edward Kowalczyk, which was devoted to the appraisal of Poland's socio-political situation and to the current tasks of the Democratic Party.

Stressing the need for a prudent and responsible appraisal of the current events participants in the meeting confirmed once again the Democratic Party's stand that honest concrete work at every post was the most important thing at present.

The meeting marked an important stage in the preparations for the 6th Democratic Party Central Committee Plenum.

POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER CZYREK ARRIVES 22 FEB

AU221118 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Feb 82

[Text] Comrade Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, arrived in Bucharest today on a visit at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee.

CEAUSESCU, LCY'S DRAGOSAVAC MEET IN TIMISOARA

Official Reception

AU191737 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met an hour ago in Timisoara with Comrade Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who is heading an LCY delegation on a friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the RCP secretary general. The official reception of the high ranking guest took place at the latter's residence during his stay in Timisoara. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu warmly met and greeted Comrade Dusan Dragosavac. The two party leaders embraced each other. Comrades Iosif Banc, Virgil Cazacu, Petru Enache, Aurel Duma and Petre Danica, first secretary of the Timis Party County Committee, were present. Comrade Dusan Dragosavac is accompanied on this visit by Comrades Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Milos Melovski, assistant secretary for foreign affairs; and other Yugoslav officials.

Immediately after the arrival, Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Dusan Dragosavac, together with the other Romanian and Yugoslav officials, had a warm talk at the residence reserved for the guests. A short while ago, official talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Dusan Dragosavac started at the headquarters of the Timis Party County Committee. The talks are attended by officials of the two countries.

Talks 19 Feb

AU201518 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0740 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Feb (AGERPRES) -- On Friday, February 19, talks started in Timisoara between Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Dusan Dragosavac, president of the presidium of the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Participating in the talks are:

For Romania -- Iosif Banc and Virgil Cazacu, members of the Political Executive Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, Petru Enache, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Petre Danica, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee, first secretary of the Timis County Party Committee, Aurel Duma, member of the CC of the RCP, minister secretary of state, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nicolae Mihai, Romanian ambassador in Belgrade.

For Yugoslavia -- Stane Dolanc, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY, Milos Melovski, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, Milan Marinkovic, charge d'affaires ad-interim of Yugoslavia in Bucharest.

Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed warmly the Romanian visit of Dusan Dragosavac, an expression of the good relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration established between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Dusan Dragosavac thanked cordially for the invitation to visit Romania and expressed satisfaction at his meeting Nicolae Ceausescu and at talking over problems of mutual interest.

At the same time he conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu, the leadership of the party and of the Romanian state a warm salute in behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, of the collective presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of its president, Sergej Kraigher.

Nicolae Ceasescu thanked and conveyed to the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the collective presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslave, Sergej Kraigher a warm salute and best wishes in his own behalf, in behalf of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia expressed, during the talks, the conviction that the new summit dialogue will contribute, through its results, to the ever stronger development of the Romanian-Yugoslav relations to the benefit of the two parties and countries, of the Romanian people and of the Yugoslav peoples, of the cause of peace, security, national independence, understanding and cooperation in Europe and worldwide.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Dusan Dragosavac informed each other extensively of the activity and preoccupations of the RCP and LCY, of the progress of the socialist construction in Romania and Yugoslavia, and exchanged thoroughly opinions on the present stage and the perspectives of the relations between the two parties and countries as well as on the topical problems of the international political life, of the communist and working class movement.

The talks proceed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, full understanding and mutual esteem that is characteristic of the good Romanian-Yugoslav relations.

Ceausescu Gives Dinner

AU201520 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0755 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Feb (AGERPRES) -- On Friday, in Timisoara Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, gave a dinner in honour of Dusan Dragosavac, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

There participated Romanian and Yugoslav officials.

Dragosavac Toasts Ceausescu

AU201535 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0830 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Toast by LCY Central Committee Presidium Dusan Dragosavac at a 19 February dinner in Timisoara given in his honor by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Dear Comrade Ceausescu, dear Romanian friends and comrades.

It is indeed a great pleasure for us to have met you today in order to continue our good tradition -- interviews, meetings and talks that promote our bilateral collaboration. Obviously in this framework we can also agree together upon what action to take to score even greater successes on an international plane.

We have a long tradition of good relations, a tradition that in the socialist years has witnessed special impetus, a tradition that was developed through the meetings and contacts initiated by Comrade Tito and Comrade Ceausescu, a tradition that we are resolved to further since it meets the interests of our peoples, of progress, socialism and therefore of peace the world over.

In the present-day world — a world full of conflicts, full of dangerous hotbeds -- very important in ensuring development on the road of independence and equality — of states, parties and progressive movements alike -- is the role that can be played both by the small and the medium-sized states, among which we can be counted. As a matter of fact, size is reflected both in one's struggle for achieving equal rights and in the extent to which others are recognized the right to struggle for equal rights.

International developments prove the topical character of the idea that at present the small and medium-sized countries can no longer be assigned a secondary role. They are playing an ever more important part. Taking as an example our parties and countries, I believe we can be satisfied with the activity carried out in struggle for attaining this goal. Continuing along this line I believe that through the collaboration of our parties and countries we can make an ever more important contribution to the attainment of this target.

Each of our meetings -- at summit or other level -- can be an outstanding contribution to the development of the bilateral relations in the political, economic and other domains of activity. This is a contribution to the activity we unfold on an international plane for the implementation of the principles of mutual respect, fully equal rights among countries -- be they big or small, developed or less developed -- for the attainment of the progress we aim at.

I am convinced that these talks we are conducting as well as the ones to come will be important contributions both to the development of our bilateral relations and to solving major, international problems, achieving disarmament and detente, ensuring fully equal rights, mutual respect, the development of relations in the Balkans, in Europe, achieving the general development of the communist and working-class movement in the world.

We really enjoy our stay and I could say we feel at home here.

I should like to wish Comrade Ceausescu, the other comrades, your party and state all the best, many successes in socialist construction in your beautiful country, in the activity you carry on internationally and success in the multilateral development of our collaboration.

I toast:

- to your health, Comrade Ceausescu,
- to the health of the other comrades,
- to your party,
- to Socialist Romania.

Ceausescu Toasts Dragosavac

AU201528 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0810 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 19 February dinner in Timisoara in honor of visting LCY President Dusan Dragosavac]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Dear Comrade Dragosavac, dear Yugoslav comrades and friends.

Dear comrades

I would like to once more address you a warm salute and welcome you, to wish you to enjoy your stay in Romania.

We are happy that the friendly visit you are paying to Romania, the talks we are having are a continuation of the traditional meetings we had with President Tito and that were of a decisive importance for the development of the relations between our parties and countries.

True, the relations between our peoples are deeply rooted in history. Along the centuries our peoples fought more than once against foreign domination, for independence, for the right to be masters of their destinies. Yet in the socialist years, and particularly during the meetings with President Tito these traditions were developed and amplified, gained a new content grounded on the common socialist system, on our countries' policy of peace and international collaboration.

We witness a special tension in the international life. Under the circumstances it is more necessary than ever for us to strengthen the collaboration between our parties and countries, the collaboration with all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces, for a policy of respect for independence, of peace.

It is necessary for us to find ways for a continuous development of the collaboration between our parties and countries in the economic, political, scientific, cultural fields as well as on an international plane.

More than ever before we must take action for solving the complex international questions in a new way, with the participation of all the states, setting out from the remuneration for good of the policy of force and threat of force, from solving all problems solely by means of negotiations, according to the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutually advantageous collaboration. Let us do everything so that in Europe there should be no intermediate range missiles and for the withdrawal of the existing ones, for a Europe free from nuclear weapons.

In this framework let us take action for developing the multilateral collaboration among all the countries in the Balkans, for achieving relations of friendship that should exclude the nuclear armament from the Balkans.

Generally speaking there is a need for us to strengthen our activity on an international plane, for reducing the military spending, for halting the arms race, for passing on to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament first of all.

At the same time, more than ever before, there is a need for us to take action together with all the developing countries for achieving a new international economic order.

An important part in solving these complex international problems is played by the small and medium-sized countries, by the Nonaligned Movement.

Particularly there is a need for us to strengthen the collaboration with all the peoples and forces that declare in favour of detente, independence and peace.

I should like to express the conviction that our interview, the talks we conduct will help the development of the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration -- both bilaterally and internationally -- in the interest of our peoples, of the cause of detente and peace in the world.

With this conviction I should like to raise my glass:

- To the strengthening of the collaboration and friendship between our parties and peoples,

- to ever greater successes to the Yugoslav peoples in socialist construction, in their independent economic and social development,

- to your health, Comrade Dragosavac,
- to your health, Yugoslav comrades,
- to international peace and collaboration,
- to the health of you all.

Further Talks 21 Feb

AU211434 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romania 1100 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] This morning, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania resumed his talks in Timisoara with Comrade Dusan Dragosavac, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. The talks -- held at the Timis County Party Committee headquarters -- were attended, aside from the two party leaders, by Romanian and Yugoslav officials.

As is known, Comrade Dusan Dragosavac is leading an LCY delegation on a friendship visit to our country at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Ceausescu Gives Lunch

AU211749 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Feb (AGERPRES) -- On February 21, Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, gave a luncheon in honor of Dusan Dragosavac, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Present were the Romanian and Yugoslav officials who had attended the talks.

The luncheon passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship.

Dragosavac Ends Visit

AU211748 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1640 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Dusan Dragosavac, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the members of the LCY delegation who paid a visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left Timisoara on February 21.

The chairman of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY and the other Yugoslav guests were seen off by the RCP secretary general.

Also present were Iosif Banc, Virgil Cazacu, Petru Enache, Petre Danica and Aurel Duma.

A military guard presented arms. Young Pioneers and Homeland's Falcons offered bunches of flowers.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Dusan Dragosavac, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, bid each other a warm farewell, friendly embraced each other and expressed satisfaction at the visit and the talks conducted which go down as a new and important moment in the Romanian-Yugoslav summit dialogue, in the development of the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the two parties, countries and peoples.

Ceausescu Returns

AU211750 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1720 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Feb (AGERPRES) -- On February 21 President Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Bucharest coming from Timisoara where he had an interview with Dusan Dragosavac, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who paid a visit of friendship to Romania at head of a LCY delegation upon the invitation of the RCP secretary general.

Upon arrival at the Otopeni Airport President Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by Elena Ceausescu, Premier Ilie Verdet, other members of the RCP and Romanian state leadership.

Upon departure from the airport in Timisoara, President Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by the inhabitants of the town who expressed their joy at having the RCP secretary general as their guest, as well as their satisfaction at the new Romanian-Yugoslav summit.

CEAUSESCU TOURS TIMISOARA FOOD-PROCESSING PLANT

AU191155 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1135 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Now in Timisoara to meet Dusan Dragosavac, chairmen of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, Nicolae Ceausescu had (?made) a working visit to economic units in that part of the country this morning.

On the occasion the way is examined in which the economic tasks for 1982 and for the 1981-1985 five-year plan period are fulfilled in the conditions of higher efficiency and labour productivity and reduced consumptions.

The working visit started at the Padureni complex of the Timis pork production and processing combine. This large and modern combine, with complexes and productive and research units spread all over the county is designed for an annual production of one million pigs. The party general secretary examined on the occasion, together with the experts of the combine, the activity carried on, the actions taken for the fulfilment of the tasks incumbent on that unit.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's working visit to economic units of Timis county continues.

SCINTEIA ON READJUSTMENT OF CONSUMER PRICES

AU191751 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 17 February carries two articles in connection with the State Council decree on increasing and improving the correlation, on economic principles, of retail prices for farm-food produce and the State Council decree on increasing the tariff remuneration of working personnel, state children's allowances and other rights granted in keeping with remuneration and pension levels adopted on 12 February in Bucharest. The first 2,500-word article, signed by Gheorghe Nicoleascu, secretary of state of the State Planning Committee and titled "Continuously Increasing Society's Wealth -- Sure Source of the People's Well-Being," cites the "objective reasons for the recent price and wage increases" as presented by Nicolae Ceausescu in his latest speeches. The author states that "in the previous 5-year plan, the nominal remuneration of the working personnel increased by over 40 percent, while the price index rose by only 9 percent." In view of the difficult international economic situation and the increase in the price of raw materials and energy, a readjustment of retail prices for certain consumer goods became necessary in order to "preserve the sound foundation of our national economy, ensure that prices reflect actual production costs, increase agricultural production and reduce the consumption of raw and energy materials."

The second, unattributed 2,000-word article is entitled: "The Correlation of Prices -- An Objective Requirement for an Efficient Economic Activity in the Field of the Press." The article states that the price of newspapers has remained the same since 1965, while production costs have increased considerably in recent years due to "higher raw material prices and various remuneration increases of the working personnel." The daily SCINTEIA, for instance, has recorded "a 15 percent loss in 1981" due to higher production costs. All this is further proof of the need for "a scientific reevaluation of the selling price of newspapers so as to ensure a natural correlation between retail prices and actual production costs."

AGERPRES DETAILS INVESTMENT STATISTICS

AU201922 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 20 Feb 82

["Efficiency of Investments" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Feb (AGERPRES) -- For many years, Romania has reinvested about one third of the national income, a policy which resulted in a volume of fixed assets worth more than 2,000 thousand million lei. An eloquent image of the dynamics of the Romanian investments is given by the fact that the sums alloted to major projects in 1980 were by 151 percent bigger than in 1975 and 33 fold bigger than in 1950.

In 1981, according to the recently published communique on the fulfillment of the single national plan of socioeconomic development, the total volume of investments in the national economy stood at 208.5 thousand million lei. Among the priority objectives are the lignite pits of Rosia Riu, Pesteana and Jiltsud, the coke-chemical plant and the rolling mill No 2 of the Galati iron-and-steel combine, the Tirgoviste combine of special steels, the development of the Teleajen petrochemical combine, of the Tractorul-Brasov enterprise and of the Pitesti passenger cars manufacturing enterprise, the building of the new Constanta-Sud-Agigea Port A.O. The location of these projects are illustrative of an essential characteristic of the Romanian economic policy: The equilibrated distribution of the productive forces all over the country, the harmonious development of all the administrative-territorial units.

The structure of the investments realized in the Romanian economy is no less significant. One may notice, for instance, that the share equipment holds in investments as a whole increased continuously, from 43.9 percent in 1976 to 49.3 percent in 1980. This change is the outcome of the carrying into effect of a new conception on achieving investments which gives priority to equipment and on which the level and capacity of production depend. Promoting this orientation the Romanian industry has reached a highly technical level, its equipment having less than 20 years.

For reasons of efficiency and of continuous development, the Romanian economy will invest in 1982 5 percent more than last year. About 95 percent of the alloted funds are for continuing the works begun the previous year, to equiping the available areas with machines and installations, to increasing production with minimal expenditures and to housing construction. As for the new investments, although they hold a small share in the economy, their contribution to the country's development is very great, because they deepen the structural changes imposed by the qualitative growth of the economy to a level able to place Romania among the medium-developed countries of the world.

MUSLIM DELEGATION VISITS EGYPT, MEETS TALIB

AU172034 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 17 Feb 82

Text] Cairo, 17 Feb (AGERPRES) -- The delegation of the Muslim denomination of Romania, headed by Muphti Iacub Mehmet, now on a visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt, called on Sufi Abu Talib, speaker of the People's Assembly.

During the talks the Egyptian official eulogised the ascending course of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, the active part played by Romania in the efforts made for reaching a just, lasting solution to the Middle East issue, for ensuring international peace and security.

The delegation was also received by Shaykh 'Ali Jad al-Haq, minister of religious trusts.

DRAGOSAVAC DELEGATION BACK FROM ROMANIA 21 FEB

LD211628 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG) -- The LCY delegation headed by the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Dr Dusan Dragosavac, which paid a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania at the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, returned to Belgrade from Timisoara today. Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Commmittee Presidium, and Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, were also in the delegation.

SUNDIC DEFENDS 1948 REPRESSION OF COMINFORMISTS

LD202310 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Most of those who, from time to time, look for the whole truth about 1948 are well-intentioned people. However, there are groups and individuals to whom this description cannot be applied. They are people who are trying, surreptitiously or openly, to justify their treason and Stalin's attack on Yugoslavia's independence and freedom or at least present them in a milder light. They have recently become increasingly loud and aggressive and one may even say that what we have here are fresh attempts to commit treason.

In June, 34 years will have elapsed since the publication of the notorious Cominform resolution. If we proceed from this fact, it is logical to assume that a generation does not know much about these distant times, but not because the truth about 1948 is not accessible to them. This truth exists and Yugoslav communists are proud of it because, led by Tito, they were the first to resist Stalin's wilfulness and were successful in their resistance. If there has been a mistake, the mistake is that in our schools less is said about this great victory and life or death struggle than, for example, about the history of ancient Rome. It goes without saying that this cannot be used as an excuse by anyone who wants to learn the truth about 1948.

At their historical fifth congress, Yugoslav communists said everything they had to say about the conflict with Stalin and the Cominform. All of this can be repeated today and in the same way. The struggle of the Yugoslav communists, as is well-known by everybody, ended in the normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe and shortly afterward in the dissolution of the Cominform. With no jubilation and with dignity Yugoslavia accepted the apologies which followed and never misused its great victory. However, no attempt to rehabilitate the Cominform has been spared the Yugoslav communists' reply, regardless of where such attempts come from, whether from abroad or from those who betrayed the revolution.

The attitude of the LCY has remained and will remain unchanged both with regard the Cominform, Stalin and Stalinism and with regard to all those who are currently trying to impose themselves on Yugoslav communists as partners in some kind of fresh analysis or reexamination of the correctness of Tito's resistance to Stalin's despotism. Equally unacceptable are the attempts to share the responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Cominform. Even in much more difficult times Yugoslav communists have always been unable to come to terms with any betrayal and this is particularly applicable today. Also evident are efforts to reexamine the measures which Yugoslavia adopted at the time of the conflict with Stalin to protect itself against betrayal at home. First of all it is demanded from the League of Communists to admit its so-called sins in connection with Goli Otok [prison island where Cominformists were detained]. Goli Otok did exist -- this is a fact -- and it had to exist. If it had not been for Goli Otok, the whole of Yugoslavia would today be a Goli Otok.

In the defense of its hard-won freedom and revolution, which was not a gift from anyone, Yugoslavia did not wish to bargain with those who had betrayed the revolution. It is a historical fact, however, that Yugoslav communists did not resort to any Cominformist methods in their struggle against the Cominform. If they had done so they would not have won. The excesses which did exist, but were never as frequent as those on Yugoslavia's borders, cannot deny the justifiability of the existence of Goli Otok. What would have things looked like if the revolution had been judged by those who had betrayed it in support of foreign interests? What could still happen, today or tomorrow, if we hesitated for a moment to condemn any form of treason?

NEW YORK TRIAL OF EMIGRE TERRORISTS REPORTED

LD201430 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1324 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] New York, 20 Feb (TANJUG) -- The trial is under way in the New York District Court of ten members of the anti-Yugoslav terrorist organisation "Otpor" (Resistance), which specializes in blackmail, incendiary, planting bombs and murders throughout the United States. The defendants are Ante Ljubas, Mile Markic, Ivan Mesetic, Milan Bagaric, Andjelko Jacik, Ranko Primorac, Mile Boban, Vinko Logarusic and Miro Biosic, all from different parts of the U.S., and Drago Sudar, from Canada.

The U.S. prosecutor charges the ten with membership in the criminal organisation which kills and blackmails those who disagree with its objectives. The bill of indictment charges the ten terrorists with having perpetrated two murders and attempted four others, with three arsons and four attempted arsons. The bill of indictment also cites that the terrorists amassed various armament and explosives and blackmailed about 50 people and under the threat of death, managed to obtain their financial support.

This is the second group of Ustashi terrorists, members of "Otpor", to appear before the New York court over the past eight months. Last July, a group of five members of the same terrorist organization were sentenced in the New York court from 20 to 35 years in prison for similar activities.

SERBIA'S MINIC CONTINUES VISIT TO KOSOVO

LD200040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Prizren, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, visited Prizren today, the 2nd day of his visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In the Prizren League of Communists Municipal Committee, Minic, accompanied by Mustafa Pljakic, member of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, and Uros Sealija, president of the Economic Chamber of Kosovo, was acquainted with the political and security situation in Prizren Commune, which was appraised as favorable. It was stated that in Prizren there were no recent drastic manifestations of hostile activity from Albanian nationalism and irredentism, with the exception of the writing of hostile slogans and individual excesses. It was stressed, however, that Prizren communists have no cause for complacency and that they must press on with the action aimed at exposing the enemy's activities and goals and at stabilizing the economy.

Minic then visited the Famipa plastic products factory and later talked to the political and economic aktiv of the municipalities of Prizren, Orahovac, Suva Reka and Dragas. On that occasion he favorably assessed the activities of communists in this part of the province and stressed in particular that it was good that they increasingly involved working people, citizens and youth in their action. Emphasizing the need to intensify action aimed at completely breaking up the hostile forces, Minic warned that it is particularly necessary to unmask the background of the hostile slogan "Kosovo -- Republic," which conceals the intention to break up Yugoslavia. It is indispensable, Minic said, to draw the attention of the young more fully to this and in this respect particular responsibility is borne, apart from communists, by teachers and educational institutions, which should seek the inspiration for action in the LCY Central Committee's platform on Kosovo.

Milos Minic this afternoon attended a session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, which considered ideopolitical activity and organizing communists of the province to carry out tasks arising from the platform for the LCY's action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and togetherness in Kosovo.

Discusses Albanian Nationalism

LD210518 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Pristina, 20 Feb (TANJUG) -- Milos Minic, member of the Presidium of LCY Central Committee, had talks in Pristina today with the representatives of the Kosovo Academy of Science and Arts, the university, the Association of Art and Literary Creators, newspaper publishing houses, radio and television, self-management interest communities of science, culture and education, and with the representatives of cultural and educational organizations and institutions.

In the conversation on the situation and topical problems in the field of culture, education, science and publishing and information activity, in which several cultural and scientific (?workers), took part, reference was made to the situation, problems and tasks in the implementation of the political platform on Kosovo of the LCY Central Committee and of the action program of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists in this sphere of social activities. The introductory report on this was submitted by Sinan Hasani, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists.

Speaking at the meeting Milos Minic stressed that during this visit he had had an opportunity to be directly informed about the socioeconomic, political and security situation in the province, which has improved with every passing day but which is still complex. There still are problems with which not only the League of Communists but all other organized socialist forces, and broad masses from the ranks of all nations and nationalities has to grapple. Only in this way can the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism be won.

On this occasion, Minic went on to say, we are confronting nationalism which is not only the conventional bourgeois nationalism, we are also confronting protagonists and dogmatic bureaucratic-Stalinist nationalism which is directed against brotherhood and unity, against self-management and nonalignment and which has the objective of fomenting hatred between members of the Albanian nationality and other nations and nationalities of our socialist self-management community, especially members of the Serb nation. Under conditions when the activity and vigilance of the Kosovo League of Communist did not measure up to the problems, these forces had the way opened for their penetration of a section of the younger generation which was indoctrinated with nationalism and irredentism. The struggle against these nationalist and irredentist forces is difficult. A long period of time and intensive activity will be required to fully unmask this nationalism, which is essentially the same as conventional bourgeois nationalism.

In the wake of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo, which stemmed from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, our entire country became deeply concerned and surprised how this could have heppened and what this meant for Yugoslavia and for the achievements of our revolution. However, in the case of many people, including a number of League of Communists members, this concern intermingled with nationalism, that is to say other nationalisms were stirred up.

The struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism must be more vigorous, energetic and more open, Milos Minic went on to say, because this struggle will boost a more energetic struggle against Serb, Macedonian, Montenegrin and other nationalisms.

In this context, Minic stressed the importance of the political platform of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, which was accepted by the entire LCY. The heaviest burden of the tasks stemming from this document falls on the shoulders of the communists and other progressive forces in Kosovo, and also on the shoulders of the communists and progressive forces in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and throughout Yugoslavia. Minic also stressed the importance of the implementation of the conclusions of the last session of the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists, which reasserted both our federation and the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the autonomy of the provinces and which demand constant action to strengthen brotherhood and unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Speaking of cultural cooperation with Albania, Milos Minic stressed that this cooperation can take place only on the basis of the interstate agreement on cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Albania which, despite our initiatives, has not yet been signed. Before the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, for a number of years Albania deliberately was putting off the signing of this agreement and abused cooperation with cultural institutions in Kosovo. Milos Minic also spoke of the need for greater creative work in the field of culture, science, the arts, and information and publishing activity because these are powerful media for the formation of awareness and public opinion.

KOSOVO SAWP DISCUSSES INFORMATION MEDIA 19 FEB

LD192334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Text] Pristina, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Kosovo today critically examined the engagement of the public information media in the stabilization of the political situation in the province and the tasks of the Socialist Alliance.

In her introductory speech, Jorgovanka Milojevic, member of the Presidium, first recalled the known assessment that, due to the shortcomings over a longer period, unpreparedness for work in exceptional conditions, bureaucratic pressures by various centers of power, stances by political forums and individuals and ideopolitical neutrality and opportunistic behavior by responsible people in editorial offices, the information media in Kosovo did not act in a quick and adequate manner during and immediately after the hostile demonstrations which caused a lot of harm and justified reaction and dissatisfaction among the public.

After the adoption of the action program by the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, activity was undertaken in all information media, although with varying intensity, to eliminate the obvious shortcomings and to include them as much as possible in the actions of the League of Communists and other organized forces in the province, taken as a whole, the public information media, in the view of Jorgovanka Milojevic, were in the past period, after the escalation by the counterrevolutionary forces, more committed and critical in their following of social developments, bolder and more open when dealing with all and even "most sensitive" themes, pointing out problems and contributing to their faster solution.

However, in conditions of numerous contradictions in the present Kosovo situation and intensified ideological struggle, the engagement of information media could and should have been considerably greater and more decisive, Milojevic said. This was not so, she said, because shortcomings continued to be present in the information houses, because there was a shortage of cadres and because there was an insufficient and uneven flow of information from the social (?base) and reportage came mainly from forums. There appeared, in a quite noticeable form, Jorgovanka Milojevic said, unjustifiably great differences between individual information media and even within the framework of the same information organ. There are cases of incomplete and biased information, exaggeration as well as minimization of certain problems by individual editorial offices, not only as regards the style and manner of reporting but also as regards the essential character of the ideopolitical nature.

According to Milojevic, this was particularly obvious in the treatment of some essential questions and problems of the present Kosovo situation, such as the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, school programs and textbooks, political action at the university and so on.

As regards the implementation of the editorial policy in individual program structures of Pristina Radio and Television, RILINDJA and other organs, Jorgovanka Milojevic said that there were and still are shortcomings, onesidedness and opportunism among some journalists and editorial offices, insufficient scientific Marxist and class-like critical consideration of the historic and cultural inheritance and an insufficiently critical approach toward contemporary creative activity. These shortcomings are being discussed in editorial offices and measures are being taken to eliminate them.

The public information media outside the province, which regularly and in detail reported on hostile counterrevolutionary events and on the action by the League of Communists and other subjects, made, according to Jorgovanka Milojevic, a very considerable contribution to the action for the stabilization of the situation, especially to the unmasking of the reactionary essence of the Albanian nationalism and irredentism and its demogogic slogans. They encouraged and affirmed the efforts in the struggle for ideological differentiation. However, she said, under the slogan that everything must be reported about Kosovo and that nothing must be hushed-up, some information media and especially the magazines such as DUGA, ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA and ZUM-REPORTER, carry articles colored by sensationalism, half-truths and onesidedness which in multinational environments have harmful consequences for intranational relations and are not in keeping with the assessment and commitments of the League of Communists.

During the debate lasting several hours, support was expressed for the assessments made in the introductory speech and directions were outlined for further activity of the information media.

Ismailj Mikulovci spoke in concrete terms about the programs of Pristina Radio and Television. Before the demonstrations, these programs were burdened by the past and historicism, and offered plenty of folklore but little of the present situation. According to him, this had an effect on the indoctrination of youth. Speaking about the articles in RILINDJA and JEDINSTVO, he agreed that there were differences in their approach to the same themes. Mikulovci especially referred to the writing by some magazines which by their feuilletons hindred the action of the progressive forces in Kosovo.

Nevzat Hudaverdi supported the criticism of the press but said that in these talks it was also necessary to emphasize its contribution to the action of the League of Communists and to the stabilization of the political situation. According to Hudaverdi, this contribution is not small.

After pointing out the need for a more thorough assessment of press writing, Mihailo Zvicer advocated more frequent discussions on the work of the information media. He emphasized that the Kosovo information media should change their physiognomy in line with the demands of the time and that they should get greater help.

Aslan Fazlija, director of Rilindja, informed the meeting that the publications of this house had been completely purged of national-romantic approaches and contents, that concrete measures had been taken for the strengthening of cadres and that increasingly successful steps had been taken recently to unmask foreign propaganda.

Milan Seslija pointed out that some discusssions contained dogmatic criticism of the press and that the press was blamed for some shortcomings present in society. Speaking about the differences in writing, he said that differences should be discussed only if they represented a deviation from the stances of the League of Communists and not if one paper, compared with another, wrote constructively about a problem.

Jusuf Keljimendi spoke more extensively about the need to socialize the information media and pointed out the phenomena of monopoly on the part of editorial offices. He also pointed out that some magazines, which started dealing with political questions after the hostile demonstrations, carried incorrect reports and half-truths, thus introducing mistrust and nervousness among the people, which directly benefits the enemy.

Observing that there exist phenomena of isolation of the press within the republican and provincial frameworks and of mutual sniping, Aleksandar Peric also referred to some denials of facts published by the information media and to the confusion which appeared among the people. He cited examples of this at Pristina University and reports on Kosovo educational plans and programs.

Closing the meeting, Azem Vlasi, president of the Provincial Conference, confirmed that efforts had recently been made by the Kosovo information media and that certain results had been achieved which helped the action of the organized forces to stabilize the situation. Constructive articles, unmasking the aims of hostile counterrevolutionary activity, are increasing, he said. Pointing out that omissions and shortcomings of the information media cannot now be justified by confusion, as the assessments and stances on the Kosovo events are quite clear, Vlasi said that one can now talk about opportunism, neutrality and fence sitting, which still exists in the Kosovo information media. Assessments and discussions in forums are still being reported, but they are not being verified and elaborated more extensively. Azem Vlasi emphasized that information media in Albanian must be in the front-line of struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism. According to Vlasi, different representations of problems and situation in the province is the consequences of different attitudes toward clear stances and assessments of the League of Communists.

At the end of the discussion it was decided that a thorough analysis and a complete assessment should be made on the basis of talks held in the editorial offices and at today's meeting and that tasks of the Socialist Alliance and the information media should be determined as regards further action of the progressive forces in the province.

SAWPY CONFERENCE SESSION REPORTED 18 FEB

Sirka Introductory Report

LD181902 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0719 GMT 18 Feb 82

["Jan Sirka's Introductory Report at the SAWPY Federal Conference Session" -- TANJUG headline; some parts of item not received]

[Excerpts] [Dateline not received] Jan Sirka stressed that fresh break-through in promoting information activity between the republics and provinces are also necessary. This can only be achieved by a consistent editorial policy and more comprehensive intereditorial board cooperation, strengthening correspondents' offices and promoting of their work. In this sense, Sirka added, and not only in this sense, we have discussed and established our tasks which stem from the political platform of the LCY Central Committee on the development of self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo. We have noted that more comprehensive information on development in Kosovo is still absent and that the weaknesses manifested in this information activity are being eliminated only slowly.

It is in our vital interest, Sirka went on, that we know and understand one another better. Therefore, all roots of the attempts at one-sided, incomplete and often negativist presentation of individual environments and even of republics and provinces should always be eradicated without delay. This has recently been on the increase in a number of printed media, in particular in some weeklies and illustrated entertainment press. This inflicts direct damage, and is not helpful to sociopolitical and self-managing commitment and the development of togetherness. This causes irritation and indignation among the working people and is grist to the mill of the opponents of Tito's course of our development.

Sirka recalled that the SAWPY Federal Conference, and in particular the Section for Information and Public Opinion and the Council for Press, Radio and Television have been pointing to individual unacceptable and problemmatic articles and to the more permanent negativist attitude by some media toward individual environments. Such concrete debates, Sirka added, as our practice confirms, successfully identify the penetration of alien concepts and of unacceptable types of behavior and their exponents. Recently, there are considerable examples of individual media not only giving space to the well-known exponents of nationalistic, anarcholiberalist, dogmatic, ultra-left-wing, pseudovanguard and other similar concepts but also of their concepts, (?contained) in articles and dialogues with the author or by carrying extensive quotes, being presented without any reservations or critical analysis by the editorial board. Thus it happens that one and the same medium advocates the consistent development of our revolutionary social transformation yet at the same time legalizes activity opposed to the LCY program and policy and our socialist self-managing society. We cannot reconcile ourselves with that.

Jan Sirka also warned about the attempts to spread anarcholiberalist interpretations of the freedom of the press and added that the thesis about certain things changing fundamentally and conspicuously in our society is also being spread. If one looks at it more closely then one sees that what is behind it are concepts and tendencies which we exposed a long time ago as being contrary to the interests of the working class, of the nations and nationalities of our country. Editorial boards where this takes place, the councils and their founders, are reacting only slowly. The Socialist Alliance's voice is also unheard; moreover, there is even a complacent attitude as well as attempts at justifying it.

Organized socialist forces in editorial boards, Jan Sirka said, do not always and everywhere recognize such phenomena. This in a way encourages the ideologically defeated forces on other fronts to make use of the weakened (?ideological) front for their own penetration into these public media.

Sirka then warned about phenomena to discredit the decisive activity by organized socialist forces for the fundamental socialization and self-managing transformation as bureaucratic interference in and pressure on the press and journalists.

All this indicates, Sirka went on, that in the work of the Socialist Alliance, and in particular of its sections and councils in this sphere, there are considerable and very significant tasks to which significant attention is not paid. In the same vein, all the founders too have not got into the habit of examining regularly the position and activity of the media they have founded. It is, in fact, in this that one of the causes of the problems emerging recently, but which are not new, lie.

Jan Sirka also devoted part of his report to the cadre policy and information activity and he stressed that it has become noticeable that the young are being made to participate in this, but that these cadres are not always best guided or qualified. He then spoke about the penetration of commercialism in our information media. In particular at present, in the exacerbated conditions of the economic activity, an increasingly free hand is given to the illustrated and entertainment press, with a pronounced material interest which is not always linked with the program orientation and the editorial policy of these media or with the skill of the cadres. In this press, symbioses are created between very serious ideopolitical, social, cultural, artistic and scientific statements and pandering to the worst taste possible.

Conference Proceedings

LD182244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 18 Feb 82

["Proceedings at the Session of the SAWPY Federal Conference" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- The first speaker in the debate was Bogdan Osolnik who stressed that the possibilities of modern information systems are not being used sufficiently and, therefore, insufficiently verified assertions are often contained in public information media. He also pointed out the significant role of the councils in public information activity and the need to react with greater sensitivity to the tendencies of isolationism by individual environments.

Hamdija Pozderac first pointed out that one should not think that the action by socialist forces represents some kind of campaign. What is at stake is the assessment of how the attitudes of the 11th LCY Congress are being implemented by the public information media and how the preparations for the 12th congress is proceeding.

Pozderac stressed that the struggle against criticism of everything which exists, against nihilism, must not stifle creative criticism; there are also those who reject creative criticism out of hand. It is not a good thing if general assessments of society as a whole are made on the basis of negative phenomena, Pozderac said, and warned about the unacceptable interpretations of some historical situations and phenomena. What does it mean, he asked, if some nations are mentioned and some not, if Chetniks are described as liberators and the regular army [of the independent state of Croatia] as a partisan reserve, if Tito's and Kardelj's contributions are devalued, if the activity by irredentists in Kosovo is covered up and such like. He also stressed that public information media in one republic or province cannot be uninterested in the problems of another environment but that this right must not be used by bypass one's own problems. This, Pozderac stressed, leads to a split in united Yugoslav information.

Milan Uzelac stressed that today's debate is being held in more favorable conditions than several months ago when information activity had been discussed at the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium. Another good thing, in Uzelac's view, is that various views and attitudes regarding public information activity are emerging.

Milan Uzelac then stressed that in Bosnia and Hercegovina more papers from Serbia and Croatia are being sold than those published in that republic. But in some papers which come from other republics serious subjects are written about in an irresponsible manner. One also encounters articles which assert that Muslim nationalism is strengthening, that intellectuals are being persecuted in Bosnia and Hercegovina and such like. All this is both unnecessary and very damaging. At the end of his statement, Uzelac advocated a speedier adoption of the legislation on public information.

In assessing the debate conducted widely in society recently about information media as an example of openness and of the democratic spirit of our society, Ismailj Bajra noted that the debate at this session will yield true results if it encourages and prompts the very information media to debate their work and the state of their field in a more committed manner. Public media, Bajra said, have become more open and more critical in assessing and monitoring social events. This, however, also increases the degree of responsibility for the public word. In this context, Bajra warned about the tendencies of creating from public media "a weapon for oneself" instead of "a weapon of the revolution," and he ascribed these tendencies primarily to technobureaucratic forces.

There are also tendencies of placing sections of the press under the influence of national technobureaucracies, which is contrary to the League of Communists ideology and policy for which we are fighting, Bajra said. We must not speak about what we don't want from them, but what we do want from them, Bajra said, and warned that such tendencies exist more widely in society with reference to other issues. At the end of his statement, Bajra dealt with the reporting by the TANJUG agency and by NIN of Belgrade on the recent session of the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Information. He assessed the reporting by these media as "one-sided and incomplete."

I think, Mitja Ribicic said, that we often complain about some internal and external enemies, but we bear far too little in mind that we are our own greatest enemies, that we have impermissibly neglected the ideological battle, that we have forgotten that one has to fight for attitudes and that they become reality only when they become the property of the masses. There are views that the party has the power today and that there is no need any longer to fight for it, that it is enough to defend that which exists. Such a concept, he stressed, is unacceptable because sight is lost of the fact that the League of Communists is today waging the greatest and the most decisive battle for the implementation of the power of the working class. In this struggle, information media could be of great help. It is, therefore, our task to liberate capable and creative forces which are able to struggle and to interpret this historical goal correctly.

And what do we do today? We often use administrative measures and embargoes and we find ourselves in a situation of assessing only what is good and what is bad. We are often impatient about some commentaries, of which there are only a few, which deviate from some of our stereotypes. We often insist on long and even very long speeches and various statements -- which would sooner find their place in some periodical -- being carried by all daily papers, on the radio and television. In many of these statements issues are repeated so that readers at times have the impression that not even we know what we want. A particular question is how much the working people even read these enormous items.

Recently, Ribicic said, various opportunists and spurious historians have appeared who have a complex around their own guilt and want to subject the entire revolution to their feelings. The worst thing would be for us now to quarrel with them, to discuss who is right. We don't have to be ashamed of our own revolution; we don't have to be ashamed of administrative measures at the time of the Cominform, to which many refer today. We also do not have to be ashamed of Goli Otok [island in the Adriatic where Cominformists were imprisoned], because it was the consequence of a superhuman struggle for the independence of our people. All this, Ribicic said, is legal because it was revolutionary, because it affected our skin. After all, the world has acknowledged the greatness and correctness of this struggle.

Dragoljub Moracic said that at the SAWP of Kosovo the working out of a complete analysis of the contribution by information media to the events in that province was in progress. Only then will we be able to ascertain, he stressed, how much of the constructive and how much of the sensationalist and the superficial was present in the press, on radio and television. Recalling that in Kosovo every written word has a special weight, Moracic stressed that it is very significant today that the press helps and affirms every activity which reestablishes disrupted relations, and there are many such cases. We must not allow the destructive impression to be gained that all members of the Albanian nationality support irredentism.

Stane Pavlic spoke of the difficult material position of the periodical MEDJUNARODNA POLITI which has been published without interruption for 30 years. In that time, the periodical has honorably carried out its role by interpreting to the world our nonaligned policy. Now the periodical is threatened by being extinguished because many excellent cadres have left it due to the uncertain material position. Stane Pavlic asked the SAWPY Federal Conference to help the periodical which, in the three decades of its publication, has received considerable recognition.

Rastko Guzina spoke of the difficult material position of newspaper publishing houses, made particularly difficult in the present conditions of the shortage of newsprint which will, as he said, threaten the information of the working people this year when elections, congress and the nonaligned countries' summit are held. Concentrating his speech on the technological and technical problems in information media, Guzina said that in the past 10 years, newspaper publishing houses are $20 million short for newsprint this year. [sentence as received]

Summing up the debate, Kolj Siroka assessed the session as successful and stressed that this theme had been put on the agenda on the initiative of a number of republican and provincial SAWP conferences. Such a practice should be continued because it demonstrates that our problems are common to all of us and that we shall resolve them most easily by democratic and substantiated debates. He stressed in particular that today's session does not represent the end of SAWP activity in this sphere but, on the contrary, it represents the beginning of more decisive action and of more responsible behavior by all subjects in this significant social sphere.

HERLJEVIC SPEAKS ON REGIME CRITICS, KOSOVO

LD211130 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Vukosavci, 20 Feb (TANJUG) -- A traditional commemoration was held today at Vukosavci near Tuzla on the 40th anniversary of the death of almost all the members of the headquarters of the First Majevica Partisan Detachment and the Yugoslav Communist Party District Committee for Mt Majevica, Semberija and Posavina. The commemoration of the heroic death of our fighters was attended by prominent personalities of the republic and the town of Tuzla and thousands of people of the area.

Franjo Herljevic, member of the LCY Central Committee and federal secretary of internal affairs, spoke at the commemoration about the glorious and heroic days of our revolution. Our revolution, whose march we are unwaveringly continuing today along Tito's path, Herljevic said, abounded during its armed period in major events and important dates, which we always remember and which encourage us to go forward resolutely.

Franjo Herljevic went on to speak about the postwar development of our country and stated that everything we have achieved over the past 40 years we truly (?owed) to our fighters killed in the war. Stating that throughout the postwar period and development there have been difficult situations. Herljevic warned that today these problems are being increasingly exploited by enemies of our self-management socialist society. Historical experience teaches us, he said, that the enemy in the country and abroad has attacked the bases of our system, brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and other values of our revolution at the times when we have faced difficulties in our development.

He warned that individuals and small internal groups in their public statements and writings are trying to alter the truth about our revolution and our party, and to belittle its heritage and personalities. We have never allowed and we shall never allow slander and political speculation against proven fighters for socialist self-management to become a method of political struggle against our society.

Attacks on Tito's work and personality represent a direct attack on everything that our nations and nationalities, our working class and its vanguard have achieved in the armed revolution and in the postwar development.

Exploiting some difficulties accompanying our development to date and the difficult international situation, and playing the well-tried card of nationalism, all classes of enemies at home and abroad are trying, by their subversive propaganda activity and acts of sabotage and terrorism, to create in the world and among our public a psychosis of uncertainty and mistrust in the further development of socialist self-management and cohesion of our nations and nationalities. Nationalists of all colors are the greatest enemies of our people, to which these glorious graves before us bear witness.

Herljevic said that some clerico-nationalists of all confessions have raised their heads again. Among other things they advocate the rehabilitation of the notorious quislings Stepinac, Velimirovic, Rozman and others, as well as the rallying of a number of believers who have been reviving Chetnik, Ustashi, White Guard, Ballist and other ideologies of national hatred and treason. It is no wonder, Herljevic stressed, that this has been strongly condemned by citizens and believers and that some protagonists of such intrigues have been put on trial. The people of this area, who personally experienced the horrors of Chetnik and Ustashi daggers, will not allow the spirits of the past to be revived, Herljevic stressed.

The LCY Central Committee member went on to say that heavy blows have been dealt to counterrevolutionary elements, irredentists and nationalists in Kosovo by the activity of subjective forces in the province, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and throughout the country. The assault by Albanian nationalists and irredentists is an attack on Yugoslavia's integrity and it has been met by unanimous condemnation by our socialist community.

All Yugoslavia answered with one voice that there can be no alterations to the decisions of the second sessions of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia. It should be clear to all of us that Yugoslavia's integrity is inviolable. Despite the measures which have been undertaken, Herljevic went on, counterrevolutionary forces are continuing their hostile activity in the form of verbal statements, slogans and acts of sabotage, in which they are supported by the fascist emigre circles and Albania's hostile policy. In Kosovo it is necessary to intensify the organized ideopolitical action and strengthen the cohesion of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others, who resolutely oppose nationalists and revanchists. In the coming period we shall also continue to deal uncompromisingly with all nationalists, irredentists and other enemies, Herljevic said.

The LCY Central Committee member went on to speak about the international situation and the significance of the coming [party] congresses, stating that today we have rallied firmly around the LCY and steadily followed Tito's path.

NEW SLOVENE ARCHBISHOP INTERVIEWED BY DELO

LD201240 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1104 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Feb (TANJUG) -- The new archbishop and metropolitan of Ljubljana, Dr Alojz Sustar, has stated that he considers the church and the believers in Slovenia as component parts of the self-management socialist society and that he wholeheartedly upholds the idea that "we all have equal duties". In an interview given to the daily DELO, published in Ljubljana, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Sustar pointed out that the "believer and non-believer must equalled as self-managers". Archbishop Dr Sustar quoted from the pope, who, as he put it, on the different occasions emphasized that the believers should constructively cooperate in the society in which they live and that the differences between the religious and the non-religious must not be an obstacle to their favourable cooperation and contributions to society.

Referring to relations between the church and the socialist society in Slovenia, Archbishop Dr Sustar said that he was optimistic about the further development of the relations. He stressed that the two sides not only wish the relations to be as good as possible but that they also offer concrete evidence to this end. Archbishop Dr Sustar said he favoured "working and efficient ways" in the settlement of certain outstanding problems, above all by reaching accords between the "directly responsible and concerned". He pointed out that the difficulties should periodically be discussed publicly.

To a remark that in his lectures on the church in Slovenia in the 21st century he does not mention either the government or the church orders, Archbishop Dr Sustar replied: "At times somebody could reproach the believers with paying little respect to the social order in which they live. We are fully aware that we live in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia characterized by self-management and nonalignment." Even though he emphasized that religion in the history of the Slovenian people has played an exceptionally significant role, regarding both the preservation of language and the awakening of national consciousness, Dr Sustar said that for the church's mission the people is not the first and foremost value and that religion does not condition strong national consciousness. "I would by no means like to claim that the religious man alone can be a good Slovenian", said Dr Sustar in alluding to what some believers asserted that a "good Slovenian also is a good Catholic".

VOJVODINA'S KRUNIC WARNS ABOUT CHURCH ACTIVITY

LD211156 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Excerpts] A session of the electoral conference of the town organization ended in Novi Sad by adopting the bases of a program of ideopolitical tasks of the League of Communists and by electing a new leadership. Over the past 2 days the session examined thoroughly the activities of over 43,000 communists and determined guidelines for their actions. Here is Ljubisav Andric:

Noting the nearly 8 years have passed since the 10th congress and that rich experience had been gained in that period, Bosko Krunic [president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee] said that the League of Communists should speak openly about weaknesses in its work. According to him, it is necessary to start talking about activities of the League of Communists, primarily in municipalities and associated labor. Short-cuts taken in decision-making are always a source of etatism and bureaucratization. We have paid for this too much to be able now to accept easily the present state of affairs, Krunic said. The most dangerous situation will arise, he warned, if the League of Communists itself is allowed to be bureaucratized.

The president of the Provincial Committee went on to speak about the outbreaks of nationalism and about intranational relations in Vojvodina, describing them as good, but also warning that no one should be lulled into a false sense of security by this. I would not regard as insignificant the fact that this year's celebrations of the Orthodox or "Serbian" New Year were among the most widely celebrated in the past 15 or so years. It is inadmissible to understimate the activities of the church and to overlook the revival of dogmatism and liberalism. There have been attempts to degrade the personality and work of Comrade Tito and to question the basic values of our revolution, Bosko Krunic said. In his view the result of the struggle against these negative phenomena will depend solely on the awareness of communists and on their actions. It is true, Krunic said, that it is possible to intervene administratively, but in political matters nothing can replace the ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists.

VOJVODINA MEAT, OTHER PRICES RISE 22 FEB

LD220038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Summary] Novi Sad, 21 Feb (TANJUG) -- An announcement has been made by the chairman of the Vojvodina commission for prices that as of tomorrow, 22 February, there will be an increase in the retail price of fresh meat by an average of 16 percent, and in manufacturing price of meat products by an average of 15 percent. The retail price of wine is to go up an average of 15 percent and of freshwater fish also by 15 percent. The Zrenjanin oil manufacturer has been allowed to put up the price of edible corn oil by between 18 and 28 percent.

CULAFIC ADDRESSES BORBA ANNIVERSARY MEETING

LD192244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 19 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG) -- Today we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the publication of the first issue of BORBA. The appearance of BORBA represents a significant date in the history of our revolutionary journalism and its jubilee represents a true and stirring holiday for this collective and for the whole front of organized socialist forces, whose voice BORBA is, Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed.

BORBA's 60-year dedicated and militant road, he recalled, started in Zagreb on 19 February 1922, when it was founded as the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the militant voice of our workers' movement and all progressive forces.

Always in the front battle ranks, in the ranks of the revolution and adhering to the policy of the LCY and Comrade Tito, Culafic stressed, BORBA may freely be said to have made a great contribution during its 60-year history to the struggle of the working class and all the working people of Yugoslavia for the realization of their aspirations, goals and ideals. It continues to do so today in the struggle for the realization of the fundamental orientation of our society in the direction of the rule of associated labor and strengthening of the real power of the working class and, on that basis, the political system of socialist self-managing democracy.

Permanently valid precepts pointing to fresh endeavors, the LCY Central Committee Presidium secretary said, have been left to all of us in Tito's work. The same applies to BORBA, for which Tito constantly cared and to which he himself contributed several valuable articles. It goes without saying, he said, that for us jubilees are not only an occasion to pay due respect to past revolutionary events and the historical importance of the battles which we fought and victories which we won, but also an opportunity to remind ourselves of our obligations and of the tasks which lie ahead of us and especially before the League of Communists. This is so, Culafic recalled, because our society is constantly in the process of revolutionary change, always in the direction of strengthening the decisive social role of the working class and working people and that, in fact, is what constitutes the basis of its stability and represents a reliable source of its strength and assured future. At the same time, we should express our resolve to resist those forces and trends which stubbornly and aggressively deny the great achievements which we have made and do not hesitate to organize brutal attacks on the fundamental values of our revolution and its further development and progress.

The 12th LCY Congress is immediately ahead of us. All the postwar congresses of the League of Communists played a powerful action-inducing role. This role, Culafic stressed, will undoubtedly also be played by the 12th LCY Congress, which should reflect the revolutionary continuity of the LCY's struggle and development in the building of socialist self-management and reaffirm this continuity through the political and action unity of all communists in the current stage of our revolutionary struggle as well. The changes which have taken place, the problems which have grown more acute and the tasks which lie ahead demand from the League of Communists to demonstrate again its readiness to achieve its leading ideo-political role successfully, in good time and by means of self-managing democratic means in the conditions of accumulated difficulties and changed circumstances.

Further on in his speech, Dobroslav Culafic spoke in considerable detail about the development of the system of information, especially public information, saying that newspapers and journalists are facing major tasks and obligations. We must, he said, build and develop the kind of journalism and system of information which will enable every one of our people to have at his disposal any piece of information he needs for considered decision-making.

In our social system, the press, radio and television cannot be either a mere transmission belt in the serve of social and state organs and bodies or some kind of independent power above society. This is the basis of which we must support efforts to ensure a broader flow of information throughout the country. For the very reason that the press should express the multitude of self-managing interests and make a contribution to their settling, it must not become insulate or limit itself to representing only the interests of its narrower environment.

Struggling persistently and democratically for the true progress of the system of information, the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance and the editorial offices and journalists should at the same time be resolute in opposing any form of pressure on and misuse of our system of information, which was thus conceived and has already considerably developed in practice. The most effective way to achieve this is by encouraging creative criticism, democratic debate and dialogue in order to clear up any errors or cases of going astray and discover the best roads of progress and socialist development for the whole community. Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said among other things at the celebration of the BORBA newspaper's anniversary.

NATIONWIDE CENSUS FIGURES GIVEN BY NATIONALITY

LD210854 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1117 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Feb (TANJUG) -- At the time of the latest census, on March 31, 1981, Yugoslavia had a population of 22,418,331. The census included 23 nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia. The most numerous are Serbs 8,130,000, followed by 4,420,000 Croats, 2,000,000 Muslims, 1,750,000 Slovenes, 1,730,000 Albanians, 1,340,000 Macedonians and 577,298 Montenegrins. 1,210,000 citizens declared themselves Yugoslavs, which is nearly five times more than at the time of the previous census in 1971, when their number was 273 thousand. The number of Albanians (?has) over the past 10 years, between the two censuses, risen by about 400 thousand, of Macedonians, by about 140 thousand and of Muslims, by about 300 thousand. Nearly all other nationalities have recorded a drop in their membership over the past ten years, except for [word indistinct] whose number has nearly doubled -- 148,000. 46,710 citizens of Yugoslavia did not declare themselves nationally.

1981 INVESTMENT, INCOME STATISTICS PROVIDED

LD220320 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 21 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Feb (TANJUG) -- In 1981 cuts in investments in Yugoslavia were resumed. Over the last three years the number of projects under construction was reduced by 6,000. Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service General Director Milorad Birovljev has assessed that too broad investing still continues and that investments exceed current realistic possibilities. This, in turn, is negatively reflected on the country's balance of payments, and hence, on the stability of the economy as a whole.

The major portion of investment funds, some 57 percent, come from credits, while investors invest from their own funds only some 27.5 percent. Average take-home earnings of employed Yugoslavs over the first nine months last year [were] 9,318 dinars per month, that is 35 percent above the average monthly take home earnings in 1980. In view of the fact that over the first nine months last year the costs of living were by 42 percent higher than in the same period in 1980, last year a 5 percent drop in realistic personal income was registered.